

Ph.D. 13472

EPISCOPACY, EMANCIPATION AND EVANGELIZATION:

ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the Ph. D. degree,

by J. T. Gilmore, M.A.,

of Sidney Sussex College.

UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE

John Terence GILMORE

Name: John Terence Gilmore.

College: Sidney Sussex.

Faculty: History.

Degree for which registered as a candidate: Ph.D.

Title of Dissertation: Episcopacy, Emancipation and Evangelization:
aspects of the history of the Church of England in the British
West Indies.

Summary: Concentrating on the period from approximately 1780 to 1880, this is a study of aspects of the history of the Church of England in the British West Indies, with particular reference to Barbados and the Diocese of Barbados, which formerly included several other islands. Topics covered include the work of successive bishops of London as diocesans of the colonies, in particular that of Beilby Porteus (Bishop of London 1787-1809) and of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands founded by him; the type of Christianity offered to the slave population in the period up to 1834, as evidenced in the sermons of a number of Barbadian clergymen and other religious literature of the time; the policies of the first three bishops of Barbados; and, more generally, the social context in which the Church worked; the influence of the Church on education, particularly the education of the poor; the recruitment of the clergy; and the Church's attitudes to race, slavery, and the relations between rich and poor.

29 January 1984.

CONTENTS.

Declaration.

Acknowledgements.

Introduction. 1

I. "This most desirable purpose": Bishop Porteus and the
Conversion Society. 8

II. "The first country in the world": the Church in its Barbadian
environment. 45

III. "To the Tawneys and Blacks also": the Church's message to the
Barbadian slave population. 72

IV. "Amongst unprincipled Planters and ignorant negroes": the
Church in the Diocese of Barbados, 1824-73. 103

V. "The Toiler of the Sees": the episcopate of John Mitchinson,
1873-81. 139

Conclusion. 180

Tables. 183

Notes. 206

Bibliography. 251

LIST OF TABLES.

1.	Population of Barbados, 1844-81, showing differences of "Complexion";	183
2.	Population of Barbados, 1844-81, showing certain categories of occupation,	184
3.	Number and occupation of one-roomed houses in Barbados, 1871 and 1881,	185
4.	The Church of England in the island of Barbados. Clergy and church-room,	186
5.	Religious affiliations of Barbadian population, 1871 and 1881,	188
6.	Religious affiliations of Barbadian population, 1870,	189
7.	Illegitimacy in Barbados,	190
8.	Child labour in Barbados, 1851 and 1861,	191
9.	Instruction and employment of children in Barbados, 1861 and 1871,	192
10.	"Children under 15 Years of Age Employed and Unemployed" in Barbados in 1881,	193
11.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth. Summary,	194
12a.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father. Candidates born within the Diocese of Barbados,	195
12b.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father. Candidates born in West Indian territories outside the Diocese of Barbados,	197

(continued).

List of Tables (continued).

12c.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father. Candidates born outside the West Indies.	198
13a.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation. Candidates born within the Diocese of Barbados, and those whose place of birth is not ascertainable.	199
13b.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation. Candidates born in West Indian territories outside the Diocese of Barbados.	200
13c.	Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation. Candidates born outside the West Indies.	201
14.	Place of origin and academic affiliation of previously ordained clergymen entering the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73.	202
15.	The Church of England in the island of Barbados. Readers and Catechists, and Scripture Readers, 1834-65.	204
16.	Government expenditure on education in Barbados, 1846-1900.	205

ABBREVIATIONS.

BCP	Bishop's Court Papers, Barbados Department of Archives (followed by box number).
BDA	Barbados Department of Archives.
BDH	Reece, J. E., and Clark-Hunt, C. G., eds., <u>Barbados Diocesan History</u> , London, n.d. (c. 1927).
CFS	Papers of the Christian Faith Society (formerly the Conversion Society), in Lambeth Palace Library.
CR	<u>Christian Remembrancer</u> .
FPA	Fulham Papers, American section, in Lambeth Palace Library.
JBMHS	<u>Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society</u> .
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library.
MPP	Mitchinson Papers, Pembroke College, Oxford.
KSA	Archives of the King's School, Canterbury.
UWI	University of the West Indies.

The expression "Conversion Society" (an abbreviation sanctioned by contemporary usage - see Coleridge, W. H., Charges, 1835, p. 35, note 1) refers to "the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands", whose charter was granted in 1793. In consequence of a new charter granted in 1836 the name was changed to "the Society for Advancing the Christian Faith in the British West-India Islands and elsewhere within the Dioceses of Jamaica and of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and in the Mauritius", and after that date it is usually referred to as the Christian Faith Society.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

It does not exceed eighty thousand words, excluding footnotes, references and bibliography.

I hereby declare that this dissertation is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at any other University.

I further state that no part of my dissertation has already been or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification.

John Gilmore

17th May 1984.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have benefitted from correspondence with Graham D. McKelvie, Esq., of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Aberdeen, on a number of points connected with Bishop Porteus, and am especially grateful for his drawing my attention to the existence of the 1785 edition of Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes.

The Rev. R. A. Minter, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Quoy, kindly made known to me the results of his research on the clergy of Jamaica.

Mrs. M. W. Cordy, Deputy Librarian of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Paul Pollak, Esq., M.A., Second Master and Archivist of the King's School, Canterbury, not only made available to me material in their custody relating to Bishop Mitchinson, but also made working in Oxford and Canterbury a particular pleasure by their personal kindness.

I would also like to acknowledge the courtesy and helpfulness of the staff at the Barbados Museum and Historical Society; the Barbados Department of Archives; the Barbados Public Library; the Registration Department, Barbados; the Bodleian Library; the British Library; the University Library, Cambridge; the Lambeth Palace Library; the University of London Library; the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society; and the libraries of the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, and Mona, Jamaica.

All Cambridge students owe debts to Heffer's in more ways than one, and this dissertation has gained from time and money spent in many other bookdealers'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have benefitted from correspondence with Graham D. McKelvie, Esq., of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Aberdeen, on a number of points connected with Bishop Porteus, and am especially grateful for his drawing my attention to the existence of the 1785 edition of Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes.

The Rev. R. A. Minter, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Quoy, kindly made known to me the results of his research on the clergy of Jamaica.

Mrs. M. W. Cordy, Deputy Librarian of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Paul Pollak, Esq., M.A., Second Master and Archivist of the King's School, Canterbury, not only made available to me material in their custody relating to Bishop Mitchinson, but also made working in Oxford and Canterbury a particular pleasure by their personal kindness.

I would also like to acknowledge the courtesy and helpfulness of the staff at the Barbados Museum and Historical Society; the Barbados Department of Archives; the Barbados Public Library; the Registration Department, Barbados; the Bodleian Library; the British Library; the University Library, Cambridge; the Lambeth Palace Library; the University of London Library; the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society; and the libraries of the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, and Mona, Jamaica.

All Cambridge students owe debts to Heffer's in more ways than one, and this dissertation has gained from time and money spent in many other bookdealers'

premises, particularly G. David, Deighton Bell & Co. (Frank Hammond), and Galloway & Porter Ltd. in Cambridge, and Charles Higham (SPCK) and Maggs Bros. Ltd. in London.

My interest in Barbadian history was first aroused by ^m/~~my~~ godmother, the late Mrs. J. A. Haynes, and has since been fostered by many others, particularly the late M. J. Chandler, Esq., formerly Government Archivist, Barbados; P. F. Campbell, Esq., editor of the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society; and, over the last two years, my colleagues and students at the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies.

I am most appreciative of the stimulus and advice given by my supervisor, Dr. D. M. Thompson, of Fitzwilliam College, and of that given to me in Sidney by Dr. Smail and Professor Beales.

My parents and friends have lived with this dissertation for probably longer than they care to remember, and without their support and encouragement it could not have been undertaken. In spite of heavy domestic commitments my mother proofread the entire work, and on various occasions my friend Miss J. B. Stevenson has taken time from her own studies to help with typing and to check references for me when I was on the wrong side of the Atlantic.

INTRODUCTION

Having rejected the long-held assumption that all good things come from European capitals, the peoples of the Caribbean are now remaking themselves in their own image, without, as yet, being entirely decided as to what that image should be. "The society is really in flux" as "the English-speaking Caribbean man ... seeks to carve out new paths of cultural endeavour at this stage of independence and post colonialism."¹

While accepting the historical contribution of the mixed colonial experience and the "rootlessness" which is part and parcel of being Caribbean there is undoubtedly a search for self-reliance and the establishment of values which are truly Caribbean.²

Historical writing plays an important part in this process of self-imposed cultural change. To quote a Puerto Rican academic:

West Indian writers since 1950 or so, have been deeply concerned ... with history, with socio-economic, political and cultural relations, and with personal identity. History is first on the list because it is so basic to the definition of a civilization, a country, perhaps even an individual.³

Ecclesiastical history has not been neglected, and indeed it would be impossible to do so - no account of nineteenth-century Trinidad, for example, could ignore the conflict between the government and the Roman Catholic Church over education, nor can an understanding of modern Jamaica be achieved without some knowledge of the origins and growth of the Rastafari movement. In this respect

Barbados is something of an anomaly. The Anglican Church was the established church of the island until 1969 and still holds the allegiance of a majority of the population. The social and political influence of ministers of religion in general and of Anglican clergy in particular remains very considerable, and several serve or have served in the Barbados Senate and on government commissions. Both government-owned and commercial radio stations give much time to religious broadcasting⁴ and the press devotes a great deal of space to ecclesiastical affairs.⁵ Yet there is comparatively little published on the history of religion in the island: Canon Goodridge's book on Bishop Coleridge, Peter Campbell's study of the seventeenth century, Kortright Davis's recent work on the late nineteenth century, and the obsolete and inaccurate Barbados Diocesan History are the only works of any length.⁶

Paradoxically, the very importance of Anglicanism in Barbados may be the explanation. Historians' views of Anglicanism in the West Indies have been strongly coloured by knowledge of the undoubted failings of the Church of England in Jamaica, which, as the largest of the English-speaking islands in terms of both area and population, has often assumed a dominant role in historical as in other matters. It is worth examining the development of the apparently widespread idea that the Church of England was, throughout the West Indies, a body which almost entirely ignored its responsibilities, and which accordingly, having had only slight historical importance, is scarcely worth scholarly attention.

In the eighteenth century Edward Long included in his History of Jamaica a

passage on the established clergy of his own time which, whilst conceding that "although some perhaps may be found, who, in their moral conduct, would disgrace the meanest of mankind, there are others, and in a much greater number, who, by their example and their doctrine, would do honour to their profession in any part of England", leaves the reader with an impression hardly favourable!

... so long as the cassock is suffered to be put on here with so little discrimination, not all the exhortations of all the bishops in the world could possibly make the clergy of this island a respectable body of men.

The apparent indifference of the Jamaican clergy to the welfare of the slave population and their association with the violent opposition of the plantocracy to the activities of the nonconformist missionaries - in particular the involvement of some with the infamous Colonial Church Union in 1831 - did little for their reputation. A nineteenth-century Methodist historian claimed that when the Methodists first arrived in Jamaica, "Numbers of the clergy were living openly in concubinage and were otherwise unblushingly immoral."⁸ After the bitter struggle which forced the Jamaican upper classes to recognise the nonconformists' right to toleration, the church establishment remained for many years as a vexatious grievance. William Knibb, the famous Baptist missionary, referred to it as a "monstrous abuse", and talked of the "poisonous and soul-destroying errors" and "slimy semi-papery" of the established church, claiming that "The church of England destroys more souls than it saves."⁹ Even Anglicans admitted that the past was

an embarrassment in Jamaica. In an account of The Diocese of Jamaica, published by the S.P.C.K. in 1913, the author, who had himself been an Anglican clergyman in the island, stated that

The most we can say is that the Church represented the religion of the white settlers and planters and officials; but it cannot claim to have been in any sense a missionary Church to the black labourers.

The Government was a negrophobic Plantocracy and the Established clergy sympathised with the Government.¹⁰

He found very little to say in favour of his own denomination before it had disestablishment forced upon it in 1870. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Clinton V. Black's popular The Story of Jamaica¹¹ gives exclusive credit for the conversion of the slaves to the nonconformist missionaries, and mentions only one Anglican clergyman of pre-Emancipation Jamaica: the Rev. George Wilson Bridges, a man justifiably notorious for his pig-headed opposition to anything resembling progress or dissent, and more than suspected of cruelty to his own slaves. That there were other Anglican clergy in Jamaica, such as John Stainsby and J. M. Trew, who were quietly and successfully attempting the conversion of large numbers of slaves is simply not mentioned.¹²

What was assumed to be and on the whole was true of Jamaica,¹³ was assumed to be true of the rest of the West Indies. Despite its inadequacies and the fact that it was published in 1898, the only book-length study of the Anglican Church in the area as a whole is still that by Caldercott. He remarks that at the

time when the first two bishops arrived in the West Indies, the Church had been "little other than a parody for two centuries",¹⁴ and this is a theme often repeated. A 1950 textbook said bluntly that "The Established Church failed dismally to serve as a Christianising influence."¹⁵ A current school textbook, many times reprinted since it was first published in 1960, picks out Rawle's work in Barbados for a passing favourable mention,¹⁶ but otherwise concentrates on the activities of nonconformist missionary societies, whilst a standard ~~introduction~~^r to West Indian history for undergraduates hardly mentions the Church of England at all.¹⁷

Canterbury is a long way from Trenchtown or San Fernando, and at the present time, when West Indian Christians of all denominations take an increasingly critical view of their heritage, and a Presbyterian minister can complain that "we were trained to worship God through somebody else's experience",¹⁸ Anglicanism is perhaps seen as the faith most deserving the general condemnation uttered by the Martiniquan prophet of the anti-colonialist revolution:

The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor.¹⁹

Certainly the emphasis of recent historical scholarship suggests a widely held belief that Anglicanism is less West Indian than Pucumina or Shango or than the churches of the English nonconformist traditions. After being for long ignored

or despised, the indigenous syncretistic religions now receive considerable scholarly attention.²⁰ Theses on West Indian church history presented to British universities in recent years lay particular stress on nonconformist activity,²¹ and of the three post-graduate students at the Cave Hill (Barbados) campus of the University of the West Indies recently or at present working on subjects in ecclesiastical history, two have chosen specifically non-Anglican topics.²² The same preferences are visible in published work. There are, for example, at least two modern biographies of Knibb.²³ Amongst the comparatively limited amount of work on Barbadian Anglicanism, we may note in addition to that already mentioned Keith Hunte's 1974 conference paper on "Church and Society in Barbados in the Eighteenth Century"²⁴, which is in fact almost entirely about the first half of the century, and the sympathetic but rather slight treatment of the Church in Sir Alexander Hoyos's general history of the island.²⁵

After an examination of the work of Bishop Porteus and of the Conversion Society founded by him, which seeks to show the difficulties faced by the Church in the West Indies before the establishment of a resident episcopate, this thesis focuses on the island of Barbados from c. 1780 to c. 1880, or approximately the half century on either side of Emancipation, and on the diocese of Barbados, which for most of its first fifty years included several other territories besides Barbados itself. Particular attention had been paid to the extremely rich archival material in Barbados, of which only limited use has been made by ecclesiastical historians, and to the large quantity of published literature by clergy of Barbadian birth and

others connected with the diocese, most of which does not appear to have been previously worked on at all, in spite of the exceptional opportunity it offers for the study of the form given to the Christian message by the established Church in the West Indies both during slavery and later in the nineteenth century. It is hoped that the present work will demonstrate that the history of the Church of England in the West Indies, and particularly in Barbados, did not always follow the Jamaican model, and that it contains a number of features of considerable interest which may help to explain why Anglicanism has succeeded in becoming a popular religion in Barbados to a much greater extent than it has done elsewhere in the West Indies.

CHAPTER ONE

"This most desirable purpose":

Bishop Porteus and the Conversion Society,

In 1710 died Christopher Codrington the younger, leaving his library to All Souls, where he had been a Fellow, and to the recently founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel his two adjoining plantations in Barbados, together with the nearly three hundred slaves upon them. This was the origin of Codrington College, and year after year the Society's anniversary sermons noted the obligation which this bequest brought with it:

... if all the Slaves throughout America, and every Island in those Seas, were to continue Infidels for ever, yet ours alone must needs be Christians.¹

However, just as it was more than a hundred years before the College bore much resemblance to the intentions of the founder, so, although the Society did make some provision for the religious instruction of its own slaves, this was sporadic and ineffective, and the criticisms of modern historians were anticipated by those of contemporaries.

Among these was Bishop Porteus, whose attempt to make Codrington College an effective means of missionary activity was only the first episode in a

protracted campaign on behalf of the West Indian islands, which he never visited, but whose religious condition was to him a matter of the deepest personal concern. The story of his efforts over a period of nearly thirty years is interesting in itself, and also demonstrates the difficulties which faced the Church in the West Indies, and the problems of attempting to solve them from the English side of the Atlantic.

Beilby Porteus was born in York in 1731, of parents who were natives of Virginia settled in England eleven years previously. He distinguished himself at Christ's College, Cambridge, becoming a Fellow in 1752, the year of his graduation. In 1762 he was appointed one of Archbishop Secker's domestic chaplains and left Cambridge for Lambeth. Five years later he obtained the rectory of Lambeth, and also held that of Hunton in Kent.

On Secker's death in 1768 he took part, as one of his executors, in publishing the collected works of the Archbishop. He wrote the life which prefixed them, and always displayed the greatest devotion to his patron's memory. He now passed his time in the care of his two benefices, in a manner which would appear to have been exemplary. He received various preferments, including appointment as a Royal Chaplain in 1769, and in 1777 he was elevated to the see of Chester, whereupon he resigned Lambeth, though he kept Hunton until his translation to London in 1787. He always maintained a connection with Kent, acquiring a country house at Sundridge, where he was a benefactor to the parish and in the churchyard of which he was buried in 1809.²

He seems from his biographer's description to have been a model bishop. "His political opinions were those of Mr. Pitt; and he entertained them, not blindly and submissively on a mere party principle, but from a conscientious deliberate conviction, that they were intrinsically right." However, he never spoke in the Lords "except on points strictly ecclesiastical, connected either with the discipline and good order of the Church, or the general welfare of religion."³ Among these Porteus included the question of the Slave Trade. He voted against the emancipation of Catholics in 1805, but had been anxious to secure their freedom of worship, and in general demonstrated a degree of tolerance for non-Anglican varieties of Christianity which led to his being accused of Methodistical tendencies, so that Hodgson found it necessary to state that "it will be utterly impossible for any candid man to suppose for a moment that the bishop was not a strenuous supporter of the established discipline of the Church of England", and to explain that where members of other Christian bodies were concerned

He would have been glad to have brought them over to his own way of thinking; but ... instead of widening the breach by contending about points in which they varied from one another, he laboured with them in promoting those great essential truths and that unalterable moral Law, in which they all agreed.⁴

There could be no doubt about the Bishop's attachment to "that unalterable moral Law". He was the friend not only of Pitt, of whom he wrote in his private notebooks in terms of the most extreme eulogy, but also of Wilberforce and Hannah More, and he was a noted opponent of atheism and vice wherever they were to be

found. He was president of the Society for enforcing the King's Proclamation against Immorality and Prophaneness, and as such played an influential part in, for example, the successful prosecution of Paine's Age of Reason. He also campaigned against wealthy ladies who gave Sunday concerts, and the last entry in his notebooks refers to a successful attempt to enlist the influence of the Prince of Wales to prevent a fashionable gathering on the Sabbath.⁵

Porteus appears to have been a man of considerable learning, who took an interest in the astronomical discoveries of Herschel, and who had actually read the Philosophes he condemned, being especially fond of quoting them against themselves. He wrote against the French Revolution, and enjoyed a high reputation as a preacher; one sermon on the better observance of Good Friday was many times reprinted and led, on the next return of that day, to the almost forgotten spectacle of closed shops and crowded churches in London and Westminster. He was active in the government of his see, and did much to suppress the prevalent custom of clergymen obtaining livings in exchange for bonds of resignation. His clergy were exhorted to combat dissenters by increased diligence on their own part, rather than by vulgar abuse, and Porteus was capable of helping dissenters in a good cause; he supported not only the S.P.C.K., but also the British and Foreign Bible Society, of which he became a vice-president. He believed that the Bible Society's stated purpose of disseminating the Scriptures without note or comment was one to which no possible objection could be made, but the fact that the membership included a large proportion of dissenters guaranteed the hostility of the High Church party until long after Porteus's death, and he was for many years

the only bishop to give such support.

Enough has been said to show that Porteus, even though not in entire agreement with the theology of the Evangelicals, was, like them, strongly concerned with the spread of the Gospel and with "vital religion". The most celebrated Evangelical cause was the abolition of the slave trade, but Porteus was involved in this earlier than most. He wrote in 1807 when success had been achieved

I am truly thankful to Providence for permitting me to see this great work brought to a conclusion. It has been for upwards of 24 years, long before Mr. Wilberforce brought it into Parliament the favourite object of my heart ...⁶

He was already making reference to "that opprobrious traffic" and "that inhuman merchandize of men" in 1783,⁷ before Clarkson wrote his influential essay on the subject, became a member of the Committee of the Privy Council appointed to investigate the trade in 1788, and assiduously attended Parliament whenever the matter was discussed.

It is not entirely clear when he became interested in the related question of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. Some of his early publications contain references to slavery in the ancient world, and his patron Secker was much more than nominally involved in the work of the S.P.G., of which he was president. Whether or not it was a result of his own American ancestry, Porteus's notebooks

show that he maintained a strong interest in the activities of the Church of England in the colonies and later in those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was, for example, one of the consecrators of Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, the first Anglican colonial bishop, and corresponded with Seabury, the first American bishop. It may also be observed that the diocese of Chester then included the great slave-trading port of Liverpool.

No matter what the origin and extent of his earlier interest in the subject, he was indebted for more detailed information to James Ramsay, Vicar of Teston in Kent, which was only a few miles from Porteus's own rectory of Hunton. Ramsay

... had formerly held for several years one or two livings in the Island of St. Kitts, & during that time had paid particular attention to the Situation & the treatment of the Negroe Slaves in that Island. The result of his Observations he committed to writing, & allowed me the perusal of his Manuscript, which he had previously shown to several of the Planters in St. Kitts who acknowledged the Truth of the Facts it contained. --- Those Facts made a most forcible impression on my mind.⁸

This acquaintance would seem to have begun about 1780, and in 1784 Porteus, after long persuasion, prevailed upon Ramsay to publish his work, which appeared under the title An Essay on the Treatment & Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Islands.⁹ It brought upon its author "a furious storm of Calumny, Invective, misrepresentation & abuse",¹⁰ and in Barbados Joshua Steele, a planter whose efforts to improve the material conditions of the island's slaves met with hostility or ridicule, noted how personal attacks on Ramsay were used as a means of

controverting his arguments!

... this Mr. Ramsay being represented, by the answerers, as a Man of worthless morals and a very cruel Master over his own Negroes, whom he sold off before he wrote his own Pamphlet, and as these (sic, ?"there") appeared both in R's pamphlet as pointed out by the answerers, animadversions founded on old personal Animosities, such blemishes in his Treatise were eagerly taken hold of, by the advocates for unlimited Slavery, to condemn the doctrine, out of hatred to the writer; so that R's pamphlet did our Cause here, rather Hurt, than Service.¹¹

Nevertheless, Porteus noted, Ramsay's Essay also

excited a considerable sensation in the public mind; & particularly made a strong impression on Mr. Wilberforce; who told me (if I recollect right) that it gave him the first Idea or at least confirmed him in the resolution of Bringing the Question of the Slave-Trade before Parliament.¹²

In the meanwhile Porteus was able to say, writing of his sermon preached before the S.P.G. on 21 February 1783, that he "had for some years past thought much on the Subject, & had corresponded & conversed upon it with several Persons in this Country and with one Gentleman in the West Indies."¹³ This sermon was influenced not only by the information thus acquired, but also by knowledge of the fact that the S.P.G. was itself responsible for two slave plantations in Barbados. Porteus took as his text Luke iv, 17-20, and told his hearers that Christ's words might well be applied to conditions in the West Indies!

For when he speaks of the "poor, the broken-hearted, the blind, the captive, the bruised," who can forbear thinking on that unhappy race of beings, the AFRICAN SLAVES in our West Indian Colonies? If there are any human creatures in the world who concentrate in themselves every species of evil here enumerated, who are at once poor, and broken-hearted, and blind, and captive, and bruised, our Negro slaves are beyond all comparison those creatures.

Not only was this true of their temporal condition, but "in the British islands alone there are upwards of four hundred thousand human beings, of whom much the greatest part live most literally without God in the world," Porteus recognised that the S.P.G. had been responsible for "almost the only considerable attempts that have been made to deliver them from this deplorable state of ignorance", but pointed out that "it must be owned that our endeavours have not hitherto been attended with the desired success." Apart from a brief passage on the need to provide for the spiritual wants of the protestants in Canada, the rest of the sermon is taken up with an impassioned plea for the conversion of the slaves as not only perfectly possible, but also a duty "peculiarly incumbent on the people of this kingdom" and on the S.P.G. in particular. He suggested that the Society should show the way by making a renewed effort on its trust estates in Barbados, and in a footnote to the printed version offered to submit a specific plan for their consideration.¹⁴

This plan was written in 1784 and addressed to the Society; printed versions appeared in 1789 and 1807.¹⁵ The plan is an amplification of suggestions thrown out in Porteus's 1783 sermon, and there is often a strong verbal resemblance. He

begins by stating that the bequest of the Codrington plantations to the S.P.G. "must be considered as one of the happiest events that could befall us", since it will give them an opportunity to show other planters that the "present comfort and the future salvation of the Negroes" can be advanced "without the least injury to the interests of the planter." It is true that the Society has always instructed its managers to treat the slaves with kindness, and that they have for many years maintained a catechist on the estates for the express purpose of converting the Negroes, without there being, so far, much success, but this was not because the conversion of Africans was, as some of the catechists had alleged, a thing impossible!

This is a position which can never be admitted. The christian religion was undoubtedly intended by its divine author for an universal one. It was not meant to be confined to any certain climate, to any particular degree of understanding, conformation of features, or shade of complexion. We are expressly commanded to preach the gospel to every creature; and therefore every human creature must necessarily be capable of receiving it.

As proof of this, Porteus later points out that in Antigua and the Danish islands many thousands of Negro slaves had been "actually and effectually converted to the christian faith" by the Moravians.

"It is not, therefore, to any natural or unconquerable disability in the subject we had to work upon, that the little success of our efforts is to be ascribed." Porteus decided that the principal causes were that the Society's ministers and catechists in Barbados, however worthy they might be in other respects, were not

suitably qualified to be missionaries, that their methods were too narrow, and that not enough time was allotted to the instruction of the Negroes. In addition, the Society's slaves were able to associate with those of other plantations who were still heathens, a fact which tended to counteract such Christian influence as they had received. The Negroes were in general permitted to live in "almost unrestrained licentiousness" in which they were encouraged by "the sad examples they too frequently see in their managers and overseers", and Porteus thought that

It can never be expected that people given up to such practices as these, can be ^{much} disposed to receive a pure and undefiled religion; or that, if after their conversion they are allowed, as they generally are, to retain their former habits, their Christianity can be anything more than a mere name.

It also seemed that

Although this society has been always most honourably distinguished by the gentleness with which the Negroes belonging to its trust estates have been generally treated, yet even these (by the confession of our own missionaries) are in too abject and depressed a state to be proper subjects for the reception of the divine truths of revelation. They stand in need of some further marks of the society's regard and tenderness for them, to conciliate their affections, to invigorate their minds, to encourage their hopes, and to rouse them out of that state of languor and insensibility, which renders them indifferent and careless both about this world and the next.

and uncivilized

As far as making improvements went

The first and most essential step towards a real and effectual conversion of our Negroes would be the appointment of a missionary (in addition to the present catechist) properly qualified for that important undertaking ... This clergyman might be called ... "The Guardian of the Negroes"; and his province should be to superintend the moral and spiritual concerns of the slaves ... *and difficult*

This would include not only the religious instruction of the adult Negroes, but also the work of supervising the catechist and the two assistant women already employed by the Society, who were to instil the basic principles of Christianity into the younger Negroes, as well as teaching them to read, before these reached the age of fifteen, when they were to be passed on to the missionary for instruction with the adults.

Porteus laid great stress on the importance of teaching the slave children, for

these may have the principles and precepts of religion impressed so early upon their tender minds as to sink deep, and to take firm root, and bring forth the fruits of a truly christian life.

He mentions the example of an apparently highly successful school for slave children begun by the S.P.G. at Charleston, South Carolina, in the 1740s,¹⁶ and also suggested that it would both ease the teachers' burden and facilitate the work of conversion to pay special attention to six or seven of the "quickest and most docile" children, and then, when they were sufficiently trained, to use them as

assistants in teaching the other Negroes.

Where the adult Negroes were concerned, Porteus thought that the religious tracts in use were probably worthless, and he suggested that when the missionary had become better acquainted with his charges he should draw up some more suitable literature, as well as short prayers for the Negroes to use when they were assembled before and after the day's work, in addition to some for their private use, and some short hymns, which would take advantage of the slaves' liking for music and turn it into a vehicle for their instruction. Most important was that the clergy should associate with the slaves on terms of friendship, if not exactly of equality!

... their religious progress might be still further assisted by the constant intercourse and conversation of the GUARDIAN and the CATECHIST with them; by the habits of freedom, ease, and familiarity, in which they might live together; by watching the most favourable opportunities of instilling principles of virtue and religion into their hearts; by improving to the best advantage the seasons of sickness and affliction; by mingling even in their entertainments, their festivities and amusements, and turning every little incident into an instrument of moral and religious improvement.

Sundays presented a problem, in that not only was it the custom of the islands to hold the weekly market on that day, but also the slaves regarded it as a period of complete leisure, especially since it was the only time they really had to themselves, and they could not be expected to develop an immediate liking for an Evangelical Sabbath. Porteus thought that it might be possible to lessen the

impiety of the Sunday markets (until such time as the island legislatures could be persuaded to abolish them) by encouraging the slaves to dispose of the produce of the plots they were permitted to work for themselves, not by taking it to the public market - a practice far too conducive to debauchery - but by selling it within the bounds of their owner's plantation. "Innocent ^{relaxation} ~~recreation~~" should also be provided within the plantation, and this would also have far-reaching results: it would reduce intercourse with the slaves of other plantations, thus producing an improvement in slave morality, which would lead, so it was thought, to a considerable increase in the number of home-born slaves from the more stable unions which would result, and this would in turn reduce dependence on the slave trade. Slave marriage and child bearing were to be encouraged by such means as pecuniary rewards and a reduction in labour for the mothers of large families, leading perhaps to manumission. The resultant increase in the proportion of Creole slaves would not only be financially advantageous to the planters, who would be saved the cost of frequent purchases, but would assist in the work of conversion, as the continual influx of African heathens would be reduced, and the slaves as a body would become better acquainted with English and easier to instruct. It would also be necessary to ensure exemplary behaviour on the part of the whites: "as one means of prevention, none but married men should be admitted to be managers on the society's plantations."

Once this increase in the Creole element among the slaves had been even partly achieved, Porteus hoped that much might be done by introducing, at least for "the most regular and intelligent Negroes", a system of task-work, rather than

obliging them to work a stated number of hours under the whip; by allowing them all in rotation an extra hour of rest a week, and another for the purpose of attending religious instruction, and by a general improvement in their condition. This should include an absolute prohibition on splitting up slave families, by sale or otherwise, and the substitution for the exercise of arbitrary power by manager and overseer of a fixed system of rules, rewards and punishments. Porteus envisaged that the Missionary, in his capacity as "Guardian of the Negroes", would act on the Society's estates as an independent judge to ensure that such regulations were fairly carried out, and as one to whom the Negroes might complain without fear if they felt they had been unjustly treated. He also suggested that

They who distinguished themselves by a superior knowledge or more uniform practice of christianity, might be rewarded with the privilege of gradually working out their freedom in the manner said to be established in some of the Spanish settlements.

This would, he considered,

... exhibit christianity to them in a point of view very different from that in which their sufferings naturally lead them to consider it, and would operate as a most powerful and almost irresistible instrument of conversion.

Nor was there any reason to fear that this scheme might result in any disadvantage to the plantation economy, as

... the privilege might be restrained to a very few in a certain number of years; during which time the places of those who ^{were} become free might be supplied by the natural increase of the Negroes; and they who were thus enfranchised should be obliged to continue for a stated time, as day labourers on the plantation, at a certain stipulated price. This would introduce by degrees a new race of free hardy labourers, who had been brought up in habits of industry, and accustomed to the heat of the climate, and who from ~~the~~ spirit of activity which never fails to accompany freedom, would do more work in less time, and at much less expence to the society, than any equal number of slaves. It is indeed the ^{decided} opinion of some of the best and most experienced judges, that the sugar islands might be cultivated by hired labourers of this description to much greater advantage than they are at present.

When it is considered that most emancipated slaves and free coloureds in the West Indies were to be found in the towns, this more gradual version of the Apprenticeship system finally adopted half a century later seems a remarkable idea for its time, and had it been undertaken according to the bishop's suggestion, the course of West Indian history would certainly have been very different. However, neither here nor elsewhere does Porteus appear to have considered that giving temporal rewards for spiritual progress might defeat its own object by encouraging hypocritical and purely nominal conversions.

A final and necessary point would be the Society's insistence on receiving regular and detailed reports from its Missionary and catechist. If this plan were carried out, Porteus asserted,

It would render the society's plantation a MODEL for all the other planters to follow. It would give it the glory of

founding a NEW SCHOOL FOR PIETY AND VIRTUE in the Atlantic ocean, of raising a noble structure of religion in the western world, of leading the way perhaps to the future conversion and salvation of more than five hundred thousand human beings, with all their countless descendants to the remotest generations.

Although "several of the Bishops, & other Friends ... expressed the strongest approbation of <his> design in general", Porteus was to be disappointed. After his plan had been read at a meeting of the S.P.G., Bishop Butler of Oxford declared that "He thought that the Conversion of the Negroes formed no part of the Business of the Society, & did not come within the terms of their Charter and the Design of their Institution", as well as which the plan proposed was inconsistent with Codrington's will and would be too expensive to the Society. The meeting agreed with him!

All those Members of the Society also who were particularly connected with the West Indies or with America seemed to be adverse to any improvement in the situation of the Negroes, --- The former for the same reasons, which influenced Bishop Butler, the Latter because they were afraid that if any part of the Attention or the Funds of the Society were bestowed upon the Negroes, less regard would be had to the Missions in America.

A committee was appointed to consider the matter, and Porteus's plan was submitted to them, together with some additional pleas by him, including the suggestion that if they would not agree to the appointment of a missionary, they should at least allow an additional catechist, which would of course have been less

expense. The committee met, sat for a total of four hours, and whilst thanking Porteus for his trouble, declared that

... the Circumstances of the Society, as well as of the Trust Estate are such that they do not at present think it advisable to carry it into Execution any further than has been already begun by Mr. Brathwaite and may hereafter be improved by the Bishop's Suggestions, without any additional Expence to the Society...

It is true that the Codrington Estates had been a source of financial worry to the S.P.G. for some years, but in Porteus's opinion this did not affect the principle involved, and in any case the Society had other sources of income. He noted "It was not the mode, it was the measure I had at heart", and that he would have been happy with "any wiser Plan" designed to secure the same ends!

But that the discussion of this Subject should have been entirely finished at one meeting which every one expected to have taken up two or three, that no other Plan should be adopted or proposed, nor any one effectual Measure taken for the Conversion & Salvation of near 300 Slaves who were the immediate property of a Religious Society did I own a little surprize me.--- ... If this Example is not set, if this attempt is not made by a religious Society possessing a Fund of £3000 a year, & whose professed Business & purpose it is, to propagate the Gospel in Foreign Parts among Infidels & Heathens by whom is there the least probability that it can or will be undertaken? ... this Plea of Inability is a mere pretence.--- All that is desired at present is an Assistant to the Catechist at Barbadoes with a Salary of £100 a year.--- Cannot the Society afford this?¹⁷

All protest was unavailing, and there the matter rested until Porteus was

translated to the see of London in 1787.

By long standing tradition the diocese of London included the British colonies, and although the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and the consecration of Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia had removed the North American mainland, the West Indies remained. Where this part of his see was concerned, however, Porteus found that he possessed responsibility without power. The situation was summed up by one of his legal advisors, who wrote to him on the subject of a law passed in the Bahamas in 179⁵/~~7~~ which conferred upon the Bishop of London a limited jurisdiction in that colony over the clergy only. He described it as "not only a barren Sceptre but a very heavy one ... As I understand it, they compliment you with the Expence and Trouble and Odium of prosecuting their Clergy, whenever it may be necessary, but with nothing else."¹⁸ An 1800 Jamaican law appointed five of the island's rectors, selected by the Bishop, to act as a Commissary Court with powers of discipline over the local clergy, but in 1822, "Owing to the prevalent opinion that the Commissaries' Court was of no use, the salaries of its officers were suppressed".¹⁹

That in Barbados Porteus's authority was even more shadowy was shown in 1797, when he received a report that the Rev. Richard Forster Clarke, a Barbadian curate whom he had himself ordained, was accused of having worn the cloth "only as a Mantle to cover the most execrable purposes of Seduction, Adultery and Incest." It seems at least possible that Barbadian planter society was not as shocked as it might have been, but Porteus considered Clarke's offence "one of the most disgraceful and Scandalous that every (sic) stained the Character of a Clergyman."

Nevertheless both Governor Ricketts of Barbados and Porteus were undecided as to what their powers actually were, though the case was made a little easier by the fact that the scandal had broken before Ricketts had been able to fulfil his intention of presenting Clarke to a rectory. The Governor struck Clarke's name from the list of magistrates, whilst Porteus forbade him to exercise his priestly functions in Barbados or anywhere else, and asked the Governor to inform his colleagues in the other islands of this fact, in order to prevent Clarke's obtaining a living elsewhere. This was effective as far as it went, but the culprit continued to be known as "the Revd. Richard Forster Clarke", and there is evidence to suggest that at least two other Barbadian clergymen considered him as something less than a complete outcast.²⁰

The exercise of episcopal supervision at a distance of several thousand miles involved other difficulties, as may be seen from the case of John Thomson, a schoolmaster in Halifax, Nova Scotia, who was offered a living in Bermuda in 1800. Although Bishop Inglis was fully satisfied that Thomson was a suitable candidate, he refused to ordain him (as Thomson had requested, in the hope of saving himself the voyage across the Atlantic) on the grounds that Bermuda was part of the diocese of London, and that to comply with the request would be to invade Bishop Porteus's jurisdiction. This was in spite of the fact that Inglis stated that Porteus disclaimed any such jurisdiction and that the bishop of London's authority in the West Indies was only a matter of "custom & prescription." Nor did Inglis feel it possible to ordain Thomson on letters dimissory, as Porteus had not examined or even met Thomson, who was in the end obliged to go to England, where

he was ordained by Porteus in September 1801, long after he had originally been offered the living.²¹

Something of what was possible to Porteus is shown by the case of the Rev. Samuel Dent, a rector in Grenada. Dent was an unusual figure among the clergy of the established Church in the West Indies, as he combined a concern for the conversion of the slaves with a willingness to help those of other denominations engaged in the same task: we find him for example, preaching in a Methodist chapel, and at one time he undertook the supervision of the Methodist society in Grenada for a month and a half, to the general satisfaction of all concerned, as a result of the absence of any Methodist missionary. However, much of his correspondence with Porteus deals with the question of whether or not in Grenada, a previously French island which had been ceded to Britain, the lands which had been used for the support of the Roman Catholic priest should now be employed for the maintenance of the clergy of the Established Church. Dent thought that they should be, but as he found the Grenada Assembly unsympathetic, he asked Porteus to use his influence in getting the Colonial Office to put pressure on the authorities in the island. Porteus did so, and eventually success was achieved.²²

Porteus sought to improve his own position at the only point where it was at all effective. In 1792 he sent a circular letter to the governors insisting that all candidates for orders from the colonies should have proper testimonials and a valid title, or promise of clerical employment.²³ The need for improvement in this respect was shown even after this by the case of a candidate recommended to Porteus by the governor of Jamaica. When he proved unsuitable, the governor

apologised to the bishop, but excused himself by saying that he had never met the man.²⁴ The title was also demanded of clergy ordained in England before Porteus would license them to go to the West Indies, though English clergy were in any case reluctant to go to the colonies, as the bishop realised!

Clergymen of Character here, especially if they have the smallest prospect of Preferment in this Country, can scarce be tempted by any advantage to go to the West Indies where they are in dread of the Climate.²⁵

Thus, although a curacy was as acceptable a title as a benefice, Porteus's ruling in some ways increased the difficulties of the Church in the West Indies, for while it prevented men seeking orders solely as a means of achieving an improvement in their social status, it also prevented perfectly respectable candidates becoming ordained on the expectation of a benefice or curacy eventually becoming available. The result was that a vacant position might remain unfilled for some time before a West Indian candidate could complete the necessary formalities and return after being ordained. As it was, there were not enough clergy in the West Indies to serve the needs even of the white population, a situation complicated by the fact that while in some of the islands, particularly Jamaica and Barbados, livings were satisfactory or even quite valuable by English standards, this was not always the case. For example the Rev. Francis Margaret complained to Porteus that he was the only Protestant clergyman in Dominica, and that as the Assembly refused to vote him any salary at all, his income from fees and a regimental chaplaincy was so inadequate that he might be forced to resign. In Bermuda there were only three

clergy for nine parishes, and salaries were small and frequently in arrears,²⁶

One of Porteus's first acts after his translation was to address a circular letter to the West Indian clergy in which he expressed his concern for the conversion of the Negroes.²⁷ The response was disappointing. The clergy of Barbados, in a joint answer,²⁸ agreed that this was part of their duty, but claimed that the obstacles were insuperable!

Something hath been partially attempted in this way already; but the success hath in no measure answered the benevolence of the intention. Many are baptized every year ... Some few at times attend the Service of the Church, nor can their deportment on those occasions be censured; but the greater part are indeed a thoughtless and wretched herd, hurried with precipitancy down the wide stream of corruption. A propriety of conduct in those of higher stations might possibly shed some propitious influence on their benighted souls. But when one of this untutored class observes in his superiors a coldness and neglect of the great duties of life; it cannot seem strange if the depravity of nature should incline him to follow an example so powerful and so corrupt. That this is no imaginary case, the thinness of our Churches, and the immoderate propensity to every mode of dissipation, declare with undeniable truth.

They also drew attention to the lack of a sufficient number of clergy, and ventured to suggest that the bishop's new regulations would not necessarily help in this respect. In Dominica, Francis Margaret undertook work among the slaves in response to Porteus's injunctions and met with some success before his health and lack of financial support forced him to return to England three years later. This left the slaves of Dominica in the hands of the Roman Catholics, since the

legislature had passed an act making their religious instruction compulsory, and there was still no other Protestant minister on the island.²⁹ In Bermuda the Rev. Alexander Richardson, who had attempted the conversion of slaves on his first arrival there, until he had been forbidden to do so in 1764 by the Chief Justice, resumed the work, and, like Margaret, instructed the slaves on the basis of some lectures on the Church Catechism originally delivered by the Rev. William Duke to a slave congregation in Barbados. He claimed considerable success, though other letters from Bermuda cast doubt on this, and he finally reported that instructing the slaves had become dangerous, because of rumours of insurrection.³⁰ One clergyman in Jamaica complained that although he had had some success with the slaves, his teaching them was opposed by the whites, and at a later date, when another Jamaican clergyman presented his white parishioners with a tract by Porteus on the conversion of the slaves, he was told that the bishop had no business to interfere with private property.³¹

Some means of improving the situation appeared to be offered by the fact that Porteus had inherited from his predecessor in the see of London a suit in Chancery involving a substantial charitable bequest. The case dragged on for some years, but Porteus was given leave to petition for a Royal Charter, and this was granted 30 October 1793, incorporating Porteus and others as "The Society for the Conversion & Religious Instruction & Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands". After this, the proceedings were quite swiftly wound up, the Lord Chancellor handing over the funds of the previous charity to the new Society, which was in early 1794 put in formal possession of the major asset, an estate at

Brafferton in Yorkshire, the only qualification being that a rent charge payable to the New England Company should be continued.³²

It was stated that the King had been graciously pleased to grant the Charter because the Bishop of London had represented to him that the slaves in the British West Indies were a large class of people who were almost exclusively heathen, and that as they were made to labour there for the benefit of his Majesty's other subjects, it was

fit and reasonable that they should in return have communicated to them the Doctrines and the Precepts, the Advantages and the Blessings of the Christian Religion, which were intended for all ranks and conditions of Men.

The Charter went on, in language very closely derived from that of Porteus's petition, to say

That this would not only be an act of true Christian Charity and Benevolence, but, as the Petitioner conceives, a measure of the soundest Policy, by promoting the Prosperity and the Commercial Interests of those Islands; because the Principles and the Practice of the Christian Religion, diffused among the Negro Slaves, would tend more effectually than anything else can do, to check and extinguish those pernicious and destructive vices so prevalent among them, which are the great obstructions to Population, and prevent that natural increase which is essential to the proper Cultivation of those Islands ... it has been found by experience, that those Slaves who have been made real Christians, are much better Servants, more sober, more industrious, more tractable, more faithful, and more obedient to their Masters, than those who remain Heathens ...

However, as "this most desirable purpose" of christianizing the slaves was beyond the capacity of the extremely limited number of parochial clergy in the West Indies, the incorporation of the Conversion Society would be "highly conducive" to it, as the Society's function was envisaged as the sending out to the West Indies of clergy or other persons whose sole employment would be that of assisting the parochial clergy in the work of converting and instructing the Negroes.

The reasons behind Porteus's actions, besides those stated in the Charter, can be seen in the "Observations in Support of the Relator's Petition" which he submitted to the Court of Chancery in 1791.³³ It was evident that the religious condition of the colonies was deplorable, but relying on laws recently passed in the various islands, on evidence before the Committee of the Privy Council on which he had himself sat, and on letters he had received from governors and clergy in the West Indies, Porteus was convinced that it was clear from the example of the Moravians that the slaves could be converted; that there was reason to believe that they would prefer the ministrations of the Established Church where these were available, and that some Anglican clergy had made genuine progress among them; that the laws of many of the islands positively encouraged such attempts at conversion; that a substantial body of West Indian opinion was actively in favour of converting the slaves to Christianity; that such opposition as there was could easily be overcome; and that the only real problems were the limited manpower and resources of the Established Church in the West Indies. He concluded by saying that

Besides many other reasons for adopting the plan if it be considered merely in a political point of view it must we conceive be deemed more advisable that the Negroes shod, have Religious principles instilled into their minds by our own established Clergy rather than by Sectaries & dissenters of various denominations.

So far from the Planters considering the Instruction of the Negroes to be prejudicial to their Estates an eminent Moravian Clergyman now in England asserts that in Antigua those Negroes who have been Converted sell for £10 each more than the others, which wou^d, hardly be the case was it supposed or expected by the Planters that the Converted Negroes wou^d, be more disposed to turbulence and sedition.

The Imperial Government appeared to be behind him, and it was, he noted,

a remarkable circumstance that the Lord Chancellor's approbation of the Plan I laid before him was given on the very day that the Secretary of State announced in Parliament the absolute necessity of Instructing the Negroes in the Principles of the Christian Religion. So that the very moment this measure was recommended there was a fund ready for carrying it into effect.³⁴

The first meeting of the Conversion Society was held 3 April 1794. Porteus was elected as president, and re-elected each year until his death. Richard Burn, the bishop's solicitor, was elected as the Society's treasurer, and Thomas Porteus, presumably a relative, as secretary, and these appointments were renewed annually throughout Bishop Porteus's life and beyond. The bishop had some grounds for satisfaction, as it appeared that whatever the attitude of the S.P.G., some real work would now be done towards converting the slaves, and, as the Society's members constantly deferred to their president's opinion, he enjoyed, in

his dual capacity as diocesan and society president, far more control over the Society's missionaries than he was able to exercise over the ordinary clergy of the West Indies.³⁵

While Porteus was president of the Society, a total of five missionaries were engaged and sent out to the West Indies. One of these, the Rev. Richard Munn, died in Jamaica soon after his arrival in 1796, and before he had had a chance to achieve anything. Another, the Rev. William Borrowdale, who was engaged for Nevis in June 1805, began well, but died in the island in 1808. The Rev. William Turner, sent to Barbados in 1795, was a manifestly unsuitable candidate. Even before he left England he was suffering from acute depression and his lungs were so diseased that he could hardly read the services audibly or without severe pain. Not only did both these complaints become worse after his arrival in the West Indies, but he also met with some opposition to his purpose, and seems to have been won over by it, for in February 1800 it was decided to dismiss him, since it appeared

not only that he had made no progress worth mentioning in the business of his Mission during the whole of his Residence at Barbados, but that He had taken up opinions directly adverse to it, & considered the Conversion Instruction and Education of the Negroes as a visionary and impracticable thing.³⁶

The Rev. Mr. Nankivel or Nankeville, engaged for St. Kitts in October 1796, proved to be not only unsatisfactory, but also a heavy financial burden. The salary originally agreed (£200 per annum) proved insufficient and had to be

increased, but the Society also found itself paying £500 worth of Nankivel's debts, in the expectation of receiving in return the house and land which he had bought and which he stated to have been the cause of his insolvency, but which he later claimed never to have possessed. He returned to England to marry, contrary to the wishes of the Society, which would have been happy to pay for sending his intended bride to St. Kitts, but instead found they lost their missionary's services for several months and were obliged to pay for three passages instead of one. He constantly failed to send the Society enough information on his activities, and wished to take an additional post teaching white schoolchildren, permission for which was naturally refused, and eventually, when he decamped to America, still demanding money from the Society, he was dismissed at the end of 1805.

The Rev. James Curtin, appointed in June 1798 and sent to Antigua, received at least one grant of £100 from the local legislature, but did not meet with as much encouragement from the planters as had been hoped for, and complaints were made at one point that he had given considerable offence. Nevertheless he sent long and detailed reports to the Society, exerted himself zealously, and seems to have been quite successful in the work of his mission, the Society frequently expressing their approval of his progress. However, the rector of St. John's refused him the use of the parish church, and Curtin, without previously seeking the Society's permission, bought a piece of land in St. John's and built on it a chapel for the use of the Negroes. This otherwise commendable enterprise got him into severe financial difficulty, from which he had to be extricated by the Society's agreeing to purchase the land and chapel from him, a process not completed until after Bishop Porteus's

death. It may also be noted that, as St. John's is the capital of Antigua, it would seem that Curtin's main work was among the town Negroes, rather than the plantation slaves for whose benefit the Society had been principally intended.³⁷

In 1807 Porteus told the House of Lords of the religious condition of the West Indies in terms almost identical with those of his petition for the Conversion Society's charter nearly fourteen years before.³⁸ In other words he felt that real progress had been negligible. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising he should have begun to think of alternative methods of achieving the same end. He wrote in 1805 of the British and Foreign Bible Society that

This seems to be the safest, & easiest & least expensive Way of propagating Christianity in foreign and Heathen Countries. Missionaries cannot be sent in sufficient numbers to convert the Continents of Asia, Africa & America. but the Scriptures may be dispersed throughout almost every part of them.

He even contemplated using Moravian missionaries to supply the want of Anglican ones in the West Indies, having reminded himself that the Moravians were after all, "an antient Protestant Episcopal Church".³⁹ After the death of Borrowdale, the Conversion Society decided that in future it would send out only schoolmasters, rather than missionaries in orders, and in 1808 Porteus wrote to the governors, planters and clergy of the West Indies, suggesting the setting up of schools on the Bell system. Both he and the Society were encouraged by a number of favourable replies, and in particular by the enthusiastic response of Dr. Holder, a wealthy planter in Barbados. A schoolmaster trained by Dr. Bell himself was obtained for

the school which Holder proposed to establish, but no more could be done in the short interval before Bishop Porteus died, and little seems to have come of the scheme.⁴⁰

Yet it seems that the Conversion Society gave up too easily. Their instructions to their missionaries,⁴¹ drawn up after consultation with various prominent persons in the West Indies - though bearing a strong resemblance to Porteus's earlier recommendations to the S.P.G. - are on the whole very sensible, and Curtin showed that success was possible. Nevertheless, on 7 June 1803 the minutes recorded that

The Society taking into Consideration the ample State of their Revenue, and the difficulty at present, of providing proper Persons to exercise the Duties of Missionaries and Schoolmasters in the West India Islands, were of opinion that it would be inexpedient to call on the benevolent Subscribers to this charitable Institution for their annual Donations.⁴²

Subscriptions do not appear to have been that important! most of the Society's income was derived from the Brafferton estate and from investment dividends, and nearly every meeting included discussion of the management of the estate and a statement by the treasurer that dividends had been re-invested. In March 1805 the Society had several answers to their advertisement for a missionary, but only one was appointed (Borrowdale) and it appears that only one appointment was intended when the advertisement was placed. It seems clear that the Society could have afforded to have employed more missionaries than it did, that more subscriptions

could have been obtained if publicity had been sought (no annual reports, for example, appear to have been published in this period),⁴³ and that there was no shortage of persons willing to be missionaries in the West Indies for £300 a year, even if some applicants would necessarily have proved unsuitable. The salary offered was quite respectable by both English and West Indian standards, and it is true that the Society did not wish their missionaries to be so far above the slaves that contact was impossible, but it is arguable that a larger stipend might have secured men of higher calibre, those "Clergymen of Character" whom Porteus found so reluctant to go to the West Indies. Even when allowance is made for the disappointments the Society received, it seems strange that they did not attempt to expand, rather than contract, their operations.

As the Society's policies were in effect those of its president, it is worth examining Bishop Porteus's ideas on the questions of race, slavery and the slave trade. He was willing to see some good in all forms of Christianity, though he had severe doubts about Roman Catholicism, but the origin of his missionary zeal lay in the fact that he quite literally considered heathen religions to be diabolical in origin.⁴⁴ Christ's command to preach the Gospel to every creature led Porteus to encourage Hannah More's efforts among the agricultural poor of England, and to found the Conversion Society to lighten the spiritual darkness of the West Indies, and we have seen his constant refusal to accept the prevalent idea that it was impossible to christianize the slaves. His opinion of Negro capacities was expressed in such terms as the following:

The Negroes have been frequently represented to be so incurably stupid and dull, as to be utterly incapable of all religious instruction. But men of the greatest credit, who have lived many years among them, affirm that this is very far from being the truth of the case. They are indeed in general much below the Europeans in point of understanding, but many of them show great quickness and dexterity in learning any mechanic art, and some have occasionally displayed very extraordinary talents, and very noble sentiments.⁴⁵

Although this is patronizing and objectionable by modern standards, Porteus, merely by expressing a concern for the salvation of the slaves, represented a considerable advance on most contemporary thought. It may also be noted that he did not have a particularly high opinion of the abilities of most of the English population, as may be seen from a passage in one of his notebooks where, writing his impressions of Robertson's History of America, he comments that what Robertson says about the religious beliefs of the American Indians provides evidence against Rousseau's idea that Natural Religion is sufficient without Revelation. It might be, says Porteus, that the works of Nature will suggest the notion of a God

to a Mind that has been cultivated and accustomed to think. But on one like that of an American Savage, and I Believe too of an English Rustic they will produce no such effect. Although the great Volume of Nature is spread before them they cannot read it, they do not understand its language. They must be taught its Alphabet.⁴⁶

Just as the English rustic required charity and Sunday Schools, Porteus thought that the Negro slave needed not only the services of missionaries but also an improvement in his degrading physical conditions before he would be able to respond and have any concern for spiritual matters at all, and Porteus appears to have been ahead of his time in his insistence on this point.

His opposition to the slave trade is clear from the passages already cited, but his attitude to slavery itself is more complicated. He wrote that

Slavery of every kind ... has a natural tendency to debase and degrade the soul, and to render it abject, mean and spiritless.⁴⁷

He is in fact speaking here of the slavery of the passions, but it is clear from other passages that this represents his general position. In an essay entitled "The Beneficial Effects of Christianity on the Temporal Concerns of Mankind",⁴⁸ he devotes much space to the horrors of slavery in the ancient world and states that Christianity brought consolation to its victims. However,

The first teachers of this Religion did not indeed expressly prohibit slavery; nor did they tell the slaves whom they converted to the faith, that their conversion made them free, and released them from the obedience due to their masters. This would have been a most imprudent and dangerous doctrine, dangerous both to the teachers and the disciples ... But besides this, such a proceeding would have been diametrically opposite to the distinguishing character and genius of the Christian Revelation; one of whose leading and fundamental principles was ... to inculcate a peaceful and dutiful submission to all lawful superiors; to "every ordinance of

man for the Lord's sake."

Instead, Christianity introduced the idea of reciprocal obligations between master and slave, and

These were considerations sufficient to support, and sooth, and strengthen their souls under the harshest treatment, and the heaviest pressures of bondage; while the prudence, the fidelity, and the obedience, recommended to them, would avert or soften the severities to which they were exposed. With these injunctions to the slaves on the one hand, and to the masters on the other, there can be no doubt that the condition of the Christian slave was far easier and happier than that of the Pagan. And wherever these injunctions are faithfully and conscientiously observed, the evils of slavery will be in a great measure subdued, and some of its sharpest stings will be drawn out.

It was unfortunately true, Porteus admitted, that West Indian slavery bore too great a resemblance to its pagan predecessor!

But ... we have every reason to indulge the consoling hope, that the same beneficent spirit of the Gospel, which by degrees extinguished pagan slavery, will also gradually and without injury to any one (for our heavenly Religion generally effects its purposes by the gentlest means), relieve mankind from the pressure of this and every other species of personal and perpetual servitude.

It would be unkind to suggest that "without injury to any one" meant "without the least injury to the interests of the planter", but it seems clear that Porteus found himself in the uneasy position of an apologist for a bad cause: the Bible might not

explicitly prohibit slavery, but that did not necessarily make it a good thing, and even under the Christian dispensation slavery was an imperfect institution. Note for example his statement that "the evils of slavery will be in a great measure subdued, and some of its sharpest stings will be drawn out." He seems to have hoped that the spread of real Christianity in the West Indies would on the one hand make the Negroes willing to work without compulsion, and on the other make the whites conscious of a sense of duty towards their labourers, so that eventually slavery would become unnecessary and disappear.

In the meantime Christianity was a valuable social force. Porteus was well aware that all was not as it might have been with English society, and that where some members of the fashionable world were concerned, for example,

the expence of a single evening's amusement or a single
convivial meeting, would give support and comfort to
perhaps twenty wretched families, pining in hunger, in
sickness and in sorrow⁴⁵

but the solution he proposed was an increase in charity, not a change in the nature of society. Porteus associated the desire for social change with irreligion, and both with the writings of the philosophes and of men like Tom Paine, and he was not alone in attributing to them the horrors of the French Revolution. It is not far from this attitude to the idea that to propagate Christianity is to prevent revolution. Porteus exhorted the clergy of the diocese of London to be diligent in their exertions to spread real Christianity among the people, and told them

It is to these exertions ... properly directed and prudently conducted, that we must principally owe that order, that quietness, that dutiful subjection to all lawful and constitutional authority which the Scriptures most peremptorily enjoin, and which are indisputably necessary to the security and stability of this and of every other government upon earth.⁵⁰

The same appeared to be true in the West Indies, and in 1791, after the slave revolt in St. Domingue, Porteus wrote to his solicitor, apparently after a letter suggesting that this might have a bad effect on the Chancery case, that

I do not myself think that the Rebellion of the Negroes has any connexion with or can have any Influence upon our Cause. On the Contrary I am perfectly convinced that the only effectual Way to prevent Insurrections and Murders is to make them good Christians.⁵¹

Nor was the bishop alone in assuming that Christianity was equally necessary and would have equally beneficent effects in both England and the West Indies, as will be seen from the discussion of religious literature in chapter 3.

It thus appears that Porteus did not wish to abolish slavery along with the slave trade, and also that his reason for this was more than the usual Evangelical concern with the possible, such as, for example, led him to urge Wilberforce to press at first for a gradual rather than an immediate abolition of the trade.⁵² Doubtless he thought that Lord Percy's motion in the Commons for the abolition (even the gradual abolition) of slavery itself stood no chance of success, but he was not in favour of the motion because he thought it was in itself inadvisable!

This motion however Benevolent in the Mover was an injudicious one, & was resisted by all the Friends of the abolition of the Slave-Trade. - The Negroes are not yet in a proper State for emancipation; Their Condition should be much more meliorated, their minds more improved & civilized & the principles of Morality & Religion more strongly impressed upon their minds, before they would be fit for Freedom, or capable of enjoying it. At present they are totally unqualified for it, & it would do them more harm than good. By degrees the mild Treatment they must now necessarily receive from their Masters (i.e. as a result of the abolition of the slave trade) will prepare them for freedom at some very distant Period. And in the meanwhile, their Servitude will be so much more softened & mitigated that they will be very nearly on a Level with the labouring poor in other Countries.⁵³

In other words, an idealistic desire to spread the Gospel was inextricably bound up with the use of religion as a means of social control.

CHAPTER TWO

"The first country in the world"!

the Church in its Barbadian environment.

The expectations and disappointments of Bishop Porteus give a good indication of how the social and ecclesiastical conditions of the West Indies might be seen by a concerned and intelligent individual on the other side of the Atlantic. It is the purpose of the present chapter to examine one particular West Indian territory in greater detail and to see how far it conformed to the general pattern.¹

Barbados, the most easterly of the Caribbean islands, is about 166 square miles in area, approximately the size of the Isle of Wight,² and eleven square miles smaller than Hanover, which is, if the city of Kingston be excluded, the smallest parish in Jamaica. Barbadians have always been aware of the dimensions of "this dot in the ocean",³ but have almost invariably been of the same opinion as Robert Haynes, prominent planter, General of Militia, and Speaker of the House of Assembly in the early nineteenth century, who said "tis to me the first country in the world."⁴ This sentiment was shared by all classes of society, including the slaves, of whom one observer noted that they "proudly arrogate a superiority above the Negroes of the other islands."⁵ Like all forms of patriotism, it was

prone to excesses born of ignorance or misunderstanding, such as the case of the mulatto belle satirised by Marryat, who pitied the poor English people who had to come to Barbados to learn how to dance.⁶ However, the European visitors who mocked the Barbadians or were infuriated by their complacency never explained why what was patriotism in a large country should be no more than bombast in a small one.

The island was first claimed for the British Crown in 1625,⁷ and in 1627 eighty English settlers and ten negro slaves from a prize captured on the voyage landed to establish a permanent colony. At that date there was no indigenous population, and our knowledge of the earlier Amerindian inhabitants is derived solely from archaeological evidence. The island's existence had certainly been known before the arrival of the English,⁸ but there had been no previous attempts at a permanent European settlement, and unlike a number of West Indian territories which changed hands several times as a result of war, Barbados never belonged to any other colonial power.

At first a proprietary colony, as the result of a grant from Charles I to the Earl of Carlisle, Barbados achieved considerable autonomy during the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration the King was persuaded to resume control of Barbados, rather than allow the proprietary system to continue. The constitution of Barbados was described by a native historian as "an humble imitation of that great fabric of human wisdom, the constitution of England."⁹ As

was the case with the other West Indian colonies of this period (though not the later Crown Colonies) there was a Governor, Council and Assembly. The governor represented the Crown, and had the power to veto all legislation, but even if accepted by him, a local Act still had to be transmitted to England, and might be disallowed there. The Council, usually of twelve, was appointed by the Governor and corresponded in its functions to the House of Lords, though membership was not hereditary, and a member could be dismissed from the Council. The Assembly, which had its origins in 1639, consisted of two members for each of the island's eleven parishes,¹⁰ chosen by electors who possessed the necessary property qualifications. Between 1721 and 1831 non-whites, even if free and wealthy, were specifically excluded from the franchise. The Assembly was thus an oligarchy, but it was a definitely Barbadian one. As it early won its claim to the power of the purse,¹¹ the Council being unable to alter a money bill, the Assembly played a prominent part in the affairs of the colony, and it was difficult for the imperial government to do anything without their co-operation. Until 1833, when Sir Lionel Smith was appointed governor, with a salary paid entirely from funds at the disposal of the Imperial Parliament, the Barbados Assembly, like those of other colonies, was both allowed and expected to contribute to the governor's stipend. As it normally did so on a generous scale, it was in the governor's interest to avoid conflict.¹² If necessary, the Assembly, whose membership showed remarkable continuity, in spite of annual elections, could always afford to wait for

a difficult governor to be removed by death or transfer. This constitution remained virtually unchanged until the twentieth century, when a series of reforms led to universal adult suffrage, responsible government, and eventually full independence from Britain in 1966.

At first Barbados was a colony of white settlers who tilled their comparatively small farms with the aid of a labour force which consisted in large part of white indentured servants, who might have sold their labour voluntarily, been kidnapped or duped, or transported as a punishment. The chief crop was tobacco, with cotton, indigo and ginger also produced. Within less than twenty years it was clear that Barbadian tobacco could not compete with that of Virginia, and that the money which bought the service of an English, Irish or Scots labourer for a term of years would buy that of an African slave for life. These two discoveries combined with the introduction of sugar cultivation to transform the island completely.

The smallholders in many cases sold out to those with more capital, and emigrated in search of better prospects to newer colonies such as Jamaica and the Carolinas. The farms were merged into more substantial plantations, whose labour force consisted almost entirely of black slaves brought from Africa, and their descendants. The planter aristocracy, as a result of the high prices which sugar commanded in England, were ensured of prosperity, and in the 1670s and 1680s a combination of circumstances gave prodigious wealth to some of the Barbados

planters, and made the island itself "the richest colony in English America."¹³ Competition from other English colonies, particularly Jamaica, gradually put an end to this exceptional prosperity, and by the eighteenth century Barbados had declined in significance.

Nevertheless certain features of its seventeenth-century history persisted. Massive importations of slaves and the emigration of whites ensured that at an early date the black population outnumbered the white in Barbados, and the blacks continued to increase in numbers whilst the whites declined.¹⁴ However, the poor whites remained in their thousands, as smallholders, landless labourers, artisans or petty tradesmen, and as they carefully preserved their racial identity, Barbados continued to have the highest proportion of whites in the total population of any of the English-speaking islands. In 1748, for example, there were an estimated 47,025 slaves, 107 free coloureds, and 15,192 whites; in 1786, 62,115 slaves, 838 free coloureds, and 16,167 whites; and at the time of Emancipation in 1834, 82,807 slaves, 6,584 free coloureds, and 14,592 whites.¹⁵ Thus while in Jamaica at the beginning of the 1790s there were nearly ten slaves for every white, and in Antigua eighteen, in Barbados the white/slave ratio was just under 1:4.¹⁶ The majority of the poor whites remained little better than smallholders through successive generations, but some contrived to prosper, and bought their way into the planter class. Thus although "by ... 1713 absenteeism had become a permanent way of life for many of the Barbados gentry,"¹⁷ in fact comparatively few estates remained for

long periods in absentee hands during the eighteenth century. The average Barbadian plantation was much smaller than its Jamaican counterpart, and this made it much more likely that a local purchaser would be able to afford it. The same fact also meant that profits were usually more modest than could be hoped for from a Jamaican estate, and made it more likely that an absentee owner would be willing to sell. In order to achieve a reasonable return, owner management was virtually essential, and very few Barbadians could afford to live up to the popular image of the wealthy and extravagant planter who dissipated in England the profits of estates managed by others. This was symbolised on the stage by Belcour, the libertine hero of Cumberland's The West Indian: "They say he has rum and sugar enough belonging to him, to make all the water in the Thames into punch." The two William Beckfords provided even more impressive examples in real life, but their fortune, like that of Belcour, came from Jamaican and not Barbadian estates.¹⁸

Intermarriage and community of interest produced among the planter class in Barbados a remarkable homogeneity of outlook which expressed itself in a belief in the necessity of slavery and in their own superiority to slaves, free coloureds and poor whites, but the planters also prided themselves on the care and efficiency with which they managed their estates. The concern of the Barbadian slave-owners for at least the physical well-being of their human property is apparent from the fact that while Jamaica was always heavily dependent on imports to keep up

numbers as long as the slave trade lasted, the Barbadian slave population, at least from about 1780 on, was virtually self-sustaining.¹⁹ Thus there was a much higher proportion of creole (island-born) slaves in Barbados than in Jamaica, and in 1817 "Africans ... only accounted for seven percent of the total population in Barbados as opposed to Jamaica where ... they made up thirty-six percent."²⁰ In Trinidad the figure was forty-four percent.²¹ On Newton plantation in Barbados in 1796, ninety-eight percent of the slaves had been born not only in the island but on the plantation itself. Out of 255 slaves there were only three born elsewhere in Barbados and three born in Africa. After 1805 there seem to have been no Africans on the plantation at all.²² It was admitted by the Barbadian planters that conditions improved after the 1780s or thereabouts, or in other words that they had been worse before.²³ As a later apologist pointed out, in 1796 an acute and critical observer considered that on some plantations at least the Negroes

had little cause to lament their removal from the wild woods of Africa to an opposite shore, and could as little desire to exchange their present lot for the high-rated freedom of European paupers

and one clerical visitor to the island two years earlier had ventured to affirm

that the slaves in the West Indies are in a far better situation, as to the necessities of life, than the labouring poor in England, or any other country in Europe.²⁴

The poor whites provided the apologists for slavery with a standing argument. A medical practitioner resident in the parish of St. Philip claimed that in 1816

The situation of the slaves ... was of such a nature, that many of the poor white inhabitants of the Parish, as I know from ocular demonstration, and from their own acknowledgements, would have rejoiced to have enjoyed only a part of their comforts.²⁵

A few years later, an English clergyman who had visited Barbados claimed in a popular travel book that "it is notorious, that in many cases whole families of these free whites depend for their subsistence on the charity of the slaves."²⁶

As far as the question of brutality is concerned, it was not until 1805 that the murder of a slave became punishable by death instead of by a fine of £15 currency, and the new Act was so worded as to make it almost impossible to secure a conviction. It was amended in 1818, and in 1826 "a white man of property in the island" was convicted and imprisoned for the manslaughter of his slave, thus for the first time refuting "the common prejudice - that the murder of a slave was no crime."²⁷ Although well attested horrors occurred in Barbados, as in other slave societies, there is no evidence to suggest that they were anything other than a rarity at this date. Most planters treated their slaves reasonably well out of self-interest, if for no other motive, and a Barbadian slave was perhaps no more liable to really gross mistreatment than a British soldier - on the comparatively

short campaign against the French West Indian islands in 1794 three soldiers were hanged for plunder, one of them without trial, and two others were sentenced to four hundred lashes each for being absent without leave.²⁸ The most telling comment is perhaps that of James Bowland, a slave involved in the insurrection of 1816, who said "that it was not from the ill-treatment of their Owners that they revolted, but alone under the idea that they had been set free by the King of England."²⁹ In other words, what was wrong with slavery in Barbados was not that it was brutal, but that it was slavery.

Since, as a group of Barbadian whites put it in 1827, "the hand of nature has drawn a mark of distinction between the proprietor of the soil and his dependants,"³⁰ the slave system was inherently racist. This was given full expression in the laws which ensured, for example, that even free coloureds did not have legal equality with whites until 1831.³¹ Tension was inevitable, and racial antagonism was easily fuelled by other factors such as sexual fears and jealousies.³²

The insurrection of 1816 was unique, and since as early as the late seventeenth century the island was so heavily populated and cultivated that a runaway slave's chances of evading recapture were very limited, there were no maroons, and no maroon wars such as those which disrupted Jamaica in the years from 1725 to 1740 and again in 1795. However, the attention paid by the whites to the militia showed that they were conscious of the possibility of revolt, and after

1791 the example of St. Domingue, with its awful demonstration that such a revolt might be completely successful, could never be very far from their minds. Barbadian society was also affected by events beyond its control, such as the American Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which disrupted the food supplies on which the island was heavily dependent.³³ There was also in this period a series of natural disasters: excessive rain in 1795, drought in 1829, and the hurricanes of 1780, 1786, 1819 and 1831, those of 1780 and 1831 causing enormous loss of life and damage to property. There were political pressures from without - the Barbadian planters positively welcomed the abolition of the slave trade, as they thought this would give them an advantage over rival islands whose estates were less well stocked,³⁴ but they acquiesced in the emancipation of the slaves in 1834 and in the early termination of the apprenticeship system four years later only because the Imperial Government allowed them no alternative.

Nevertheless, in spite of the strains and antagonisms inevitable in a slave society, there was in Barbados by the third quarter of the eighteenth century a culture which was to some extent shared by all classes of society, and which was neither English nor African, and which whilst resembling that of other West Indian islands, was uniquely Barbadian. As Watson points out, the poor whites transmitted English cultural elements to the slaves, and in exchange received African influences which were to a degree passed on to the more prosperous whites.³⁵ The same process would have taken place through the agency of domestic

slaves, who lived on terms of great familiarity with their masters, and also through that of the free coloureds, some of whom were slave-owners sharing many of the prejudices and assumptions of the whites, whilst others were closer in sentiment to the slaves. (One of the leaders of the 1816 insurrection, for example, was a free man called Washington Franklin, and one of the largest losers by it was Jacob Belgrave, a mulatto plantation owner whom a black woman accused, a few days before the outbreak, of being "one of the fellows who prevented the slaves from having their freedom.")³⁶ All shared a common creole language, which has retained remarkably few words of African origin,³⁷ but whose speech patterns were and are to a greater or lesser degree un-English - as early as the eighteenth century visitors found that Barbadian whites, like the negroes, possessed a distinctive and characteristic speech. In their tastes in food and drink, in their sexual habits, in their clothing and their choice of music, the different classes of society influenced each other: the slaves, for example, took to the fiddle and the quadrille, and the whites, in spite of their permanent suspicion that drumming might be the signal for revolt, developed a susceptibility to African rhythms.

The Barbadian slave was certainly not a creature whose personality was obliterated by oppression. The customs of the slave society permitted him a degree of freedom, particularly on Saturday evenings and on Sundays, to organise his own entertainment and to earn money for himself by marketing the produce of his provision ground. There was thus room for an independent slave culture which

contributed to the culture of the island's society as a whole, and which, whilst influenced by the cultural norms of the whites, was far from being a simple imitation of them. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say anything about the religious beliefs of Barbadian slaves, except where these were affected by Christianity. We have some information about slave funerals, and indications that there was a definite belief in an afterlife, which involved the soul's returning to Africa.³⁸ The slave cemetery at Newton plantation has been excavated, but the evidence discovered is rather meagre, and does little more than indicate that, as might have been expected, mortuary practices became increasingly influenced by European custom with the passage of time, and it is impossible to say whether there were any religious, as distinct from purely cultural reasons for this.³⁹ There was a widespread belief in obeah, which has to a lesser extent persisted until now, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the fact that it was and is prohibited by law, and that prosecutions were occasionally brought as recently as the early years of the present century.⁴⁰ However, obeah is a matter of the use of appropriate charms and formulae to produce desired results by what are believed to be supernatural means, and it is not a religious system as such. Although Haitian voodoo is the best known example, religious cults of demonstrably African origin survive in a number of West Indian islands,⁴¹ but they have left little or no trace in Barbados. That the cult of West African deities such as Shango was practised in pre-Emancipation Barbados is very probable, but the general references of white

writers to "the Rites, Ceremonies, and Superstitions"⁴² of the negroes do not provide any firm evidence on the subject.

The religion of the white population, such as it was, was almost exclusively Anglican. The Quakers had been an important section of the community in the seventeenth century, but their refusal to serve in the militia and their endeavours to instruct the slaves resulted in a severe persecution which led them to emigrate or conform; there were few left in the eighteenth century, and they appear to have become completely extinct by the beginning of the nineteenth. After the seventeenth century the Roman Catholics were likewise almost non-existent in the island, and although there were many to be found among the British garrison troops in the nineteenth century, there was no resident priest until 1839, and the denomination remains a comparatively small though influential one in present-day Barbados. The Jewish community declined in numbers during the nineteenth century, but had earlier represented a considerable proportion of the white population, and although Jews suffered a number of civil disabilities until 1831, they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. A Moravian mission was established in Barbados in 1765, but while they were not persecuted, in spite of their attempts to convert slaves, their numbers remained quite small, in contrast to the remarkable success they enjoyed in Antigua. The Methodists arrived in 1788, and, as was the case in many of the other islands, met with severe opposition, the missionary being withdrawn in 1798. A fresh attempt was made in

1801, but came to an end in 1823 when the chapel in Bridgetown was demolished by a mob of white rioters, and the missionary and his pregnant wife fled the island in fear of their lives. Only the intervention of the British government allowed the mission to be resumed, but its adherents gradually increased in numbers during the nineteenth century.⁴³

Although the majority of the white inhabitants were Anglican, at least in the sense of being "firmly attached in their Principles to the present happy Establishment, in Church and State",⁴⁴ their immorality and irreligion were notorious. One visitor to the island early in the eighteenth century described them as

Horrible profane and lude in their Discourse and conversation, of no moral honesty o(r) profest religion, hardly think of God but in their Curses & Blasphemies, if they can be allow'd to be Christians they are Solifidianis for they never observe the Sabbath to keep it by going to Church ... I have heard the Parson of a Parish say he never saw but 6 persons at Church unless it were at a funeral."

He went on to point out that funerals rivalled weddings as occasions for drunkenness and debauchery.⁴⁵ This appears to be borne out by the manner in which in 1743 the catechist on the Codrington estates expressed his desire for modest obsequies!

it is my will that ... not above thirty people be invited to my funeral, the bearer (& bearers) to have gloves, no burnt wines, nor pipes nor tobacco two glasses of sack to each person and to have a plane coffin not exceeding thirty pounds.

In 1801 Sir John Gay Alleyne bequeathed noyau and malmsey "as also all the Madeira and Port wine that may not be required for my funeral."⁴⁶

The complaint made to Bishop Porteus about "the thinness of our Churches and the immoderate propensity to every mode of dissipation" was far from unjustified. The taverns of Bridgetown functioned openly as brothels,⁴⁷ and George Poyntz Ricketts, a Jamaican by birth who was governor of Barbados 1794 to 1800, kept a mulatto mistress who lived with him at his official residence.⁴⁸ The ordinances of the Church were modified by local custom - baptisms of the children of the wealthy normally took place in private houses, and only the most exorbitant increases in the fees demanded by the governor for a licence would induce people to be married by banns.⁴⁹ St. Michael's Church, destroyed in the hurricane of 1780, was not rebuilt for nine years,⁵⁰ a fact which can only partly be attributed to the financial losses suffered in the calamity by the Vestry and the parishioners. One later critic referred the following anecdote to the beginning of the nineteenth century!

Sixty years ago, clergymen were known to drink and carouse with their parishioners. "Will you have a sermon?" said one of these clergy, in one of the country

parish churches, when prayers were over. His congregation were worshipping with their guns at hand, awaiting the arrival of an expected flight of plovers. A black boy, standing at the church door, exclaimed, "Massa! Massa! de plovers are coming!" when the speedy exit of the congregation responded to the question of the reverend functionary. Ladies would commonly go to church in full dress an hour before the service, for gossip.⁵¹

A definite provision, even if a small one, was made for the Church. The number of parishes in the island was settled in the seventeenth century at eleven, when by 1680 one might have expected forty for a population of the same size in England, taking only the numbers of the white colonists into consideration.⁵² Nor were the parishes always filled - Morgan Godwyn found only five that were⁵³ - though by the eighteenth century vacancies were normally only temporary. Glebes existed, but there was never any system of tithes in Barbados, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century "the emoluments of the sacerdotal office consisted of the annual receipt of an assessment of one pound of sugar on every acre of land, and of such fees on marriages, baptisms and burials as custom had authorized." By a law passed in the session of 1704-1705, the rectors were granted a salary of £150 per annum instead, and this remained unchanged until it was doubled in 1807. However, the law expressly permitted the vestries of the individual parishes to make presents to their rectors. These normally at least equalled the established salary, and fees remained an important source of income, so that, even before the increase of 1807, Poyer thought that "the least valuable

church living in the island may be moderately rated at four hundred pounds a year", in addition to which a rectory - "in most cases an elegant mansion" - was provided and maintained by the parish. These figures are Barbados currency, which was at a significant discount in relation to sterling, but clerical incomes would still have been very reasonable by average English standards, though they could not compare with the more lucrative English preferments, and it may be noted that at the end of the eighteenth century there was a rectory in Jamaica thought to be worth a thousand pounds sterling a year. Thus although the Church in Barbados was not provided with the means to support an adequate number of clergy, such clergy as there were were far from badly off. Poyer, however, indicates the difficulties of the manner in which clerical incomes were made up:

It were ... much to be wished, for the sake of preserving the purity and dignity of the sacred function, that the rectors of the several parishes were rendered independent of occasional gratuities from their vestries ... The clergy would then be no longer under the necessity of temporising, as some of them too often do, with the principal inhabitants of their cure. But in providing for the independence of the clergy, we should not lose sight of the circumstances of those by whom they are paid. Vestries should no longer be invested with a power, too frequently abused, of indulging an ostentatious generosity to the injury of their parishioners, whose means of subsistence are often abridged to procure the taxes which are levied on them, for the support of the parochial establishment.

It was not perhaps the best system to ensure widespread clerical popularity. Even

after 1807 the custom of presents allowed the vestry to make its views known to the rector in a forcible manner, as may be seen from the case of W. M. Harte, who became rector of St. Lucy towards the end of 1815. His predecessor had been given £100 a year as a present, and at first so was Harte, but after 1819 the vestry stopped the present, as they were opposed to Harte's attempts to convert the slaves in his parish. In 1826 a new law raised the rectors' stipends to £500 currency each, and put a stop to the presents, though the right to fees remained.⁵⁴

As a result of the early eighteenth-century controversy between Governor Lowther and the Rev. William Gordon, the bishop of London's commissary in Barbados, an act was passed for preventing the establishment of a spiritual court in the island.⁵⁵ The limitations of the bishop of London's authority in the West Indies have been mentioned in connection with Bishop Porteus; it was certainly outweighed in local significance by that of the governor. In Barbados, as in the other islands, the governor was by virtue of his commission the ordinary, and as such not only possessed the power of granting probates and marriage licences, but also collated to vacant benefices. In case of the death or absence of the governor, similar powers were exercised by the President of the Council.⁵⁶ This in effect gave the governor or the president control over nearly all clerical appointments, and in Jamaica "It is supposed ... that money has sometimes been made by the sale of church livings,"⁵⁷ though this does not seem to have been the case in Barbados. As a result, it was in the temporal interests of clergymen to stand well with the

civil authorities, not only in order to secure a rectory in the first place, but afterwards in case they hoped for a transfer to a different parish. Variations in income from fees and in the generosity of vestries may have been considerable, and certainly moves by clergy from one parish to another were not uncommon. For example, in 1793 the Rev. Timothy Blenman moved from the rectory of St. Joseph to that of St. Philip, and was succeeded at St. Joseph by the Rev. Thomas Allinson. In 1797 Allinson succeeded Blenman at St. Philip. When Allinson died in 1815, he was succeeded as Rector of St. Philip by the Rev. William Als, previously Rector of St. Thomas, and the Rev. G. F. Maynard became Rector of St. Thomas. In 1833 Maynard went on to become Rector of St. James.⁵⁸

The establishment of the diocese of Barbados did not at first make much difference in this respect, but by 1829 Bishop Coleridge had acquired effective control of clerical appointments, although he did not succeed in his attempts to acquire probate jurisdiction which, like the authority to issue marriage licences, remained vested in the governor.⁵⁹ The letters patent constituting the diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands⁶⁰ specifically conferred upon Bishop Coleridge and his successors the power to "punish and correct" the clergy of the diocese "according to their demerits whether by removal, deprivation suspension or other such Ecclesiastical censure or correction as they may be liable to according to the Canons and Laws Ecclesiastical" of the Church of England, but before this there does not seem to have been any adequate provision for the discipline of the clergy.

A number of clergy were suspended or deprived by the Governor and Council in the seventeenth century,⁶¹ but at least during the second half of the next century it would appear that a beneficed Barbadian clergyman was immoveable, even if guilty of the most flagrant misconduct. The case of the Rev. Richard Forster Clarke has already been mentioned;⁶² another which should be noted is that of the Rev. Thomas Harris, Rector of St. Lucy, who was in 1765 sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £25 for assaulting his sister-in-law with intent to ravish her. The Vestry of St. Lucy, the Governor of Barbados and the Bishop of London were agreed that Harris ought to be deprived of his living, but they could find no way of doing this.⁶³

Parochial registers and other records in Barbados, though often dating back to within a few years of the settlement, are usually available only in nineteenth-century transcripts. In most cases there is no reason to question their accuracy, but occasional doubts arise: it is not clear, for instance, whether the "M^r. Tho^s Lee, Minister", buried at St. Michael in 1654 and of whom nothing else is known actually existed, or if the entry really refers to the Rev. Thomas Lane.⁶⁴ There is also the problem of how one chooses to define the term clergy of Barbados: in 1681 Matthew Grey was discovered by the governor to be without orders, though he had acted as minister of St. Lucy for twenty-four years.⁶⁵ The Rev. Morgan Godwyn is an important source of information about the island in the late 1670s, but he does not appear to have had any clerical appointment whilst in

Barbados. In 1794 the Rev. Cooper Willyams was certainly only a visitor. James Dottin Maycock preached a sermon at St. Michael in 1820, but was definitely not, as has been suggested, rector of that parish nor apparently of any other in Barbados.⁶⁶ If these cases, and a number of "ghosts" (such as the Revs. William Tyrrell and Patrick Roejas, who never had any existence outside the pages of the Barbados Diocesan History)⁶⁷ are omitted, I am left with a list of 226 names of clergy for the period between the settlement of the island and the end of the Apprenticeship system in 1838. A few of these are known only as having received the royal bounty to go as missionaries or schoolmasters to Barbados, and perhaps never arrived or left shortly after doing so, but most can be stated with certainty to have had appointments in Barbados as beneficed clergy (the majority of cases) or as curates, as clergymen connected with Codrington College, as schoolmasters, or, in the case of Turner, as a missionary of the Conversion Society. Unbeneficed clergy who neither died nor left the island and who still failed to go on to acquire a benefice were rare, and there were probably good reasons, such as the scandalous behaviour of Richard Forster Clarke, or the insanity said to afflict the Rev. John A'Court early in the eighteenth century.⁶⁸

When the information available from records in Barbados is combined with that from other sources, such as the Fulham Papers and the standard catalogues of university graduates,⁶⁹ a number of patterns emerge. The figure of 226 names includes fifty-five who can be stated definitely or with reasonable certainty to

have been born in Barbados, fifty born in the British Isles, which in nearly all cases means England, one definitely born in Virginia, and one possibly born in Demerara. Of the remaining 119 whose birthplaces are uncertain, some have surnames which suggest Barbadian birth or family connections, but most, particularly in the early part of the period, would have been born in England.

Among the 226 there are sixty-seven identifiable as recipients of Oxbridge degrees, twenty-six of whom were Barbadians by birth, and the rest British-born, with the exception of the Virginian and one of uncertain birthplace. These include eleven fellows or former fellows of Oxford or Cambridge colleges, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a fellow of Eton. Another became a fellow of Eton after leaving Barbados; and the Rev. Samuel Hinds, a Barbadian by birth, after leaving the island became Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, and eventually Bishop of Norwich. One of the college fellows was the Rev. Jonathan Downes, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, 1755-1762, and Rector of St. Peter, Barbados, for a number of years up to at least 1771, who was of a Barbadian family. The rest of the fellows were definitely British-born. Three British-born and six Barbadian-born clergy can be identified as having matriculated at Oxbridge colleges without apparently having gone on to take a degree. Identifications which are possible but uncertain would add to the list twenty-nine Oxbridge graduates and eight matriculates, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. The Rev. William Walrond Jackson was a Barbadian by birth who served as a curate in the island in the 1830s; he was

admitted a sizar at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1841, but never took a Cambridge degree, though he later received Lambeth degrees. At least two clergymen claimed degrees I have been unable to verify.⁷⁰

If attention is concentrated on the period from 1780 to 1838 the picture is rather clearer, as there are virtually no shadow figures or cases of possible confusion of identity. Eighty-eight names will include nearly all who served as clergy in the island in these years, whereas the list for the longer period is certainly incomplete in its earlier portion. The eighty-eight include forty-eight definitely born in Barbados, twelve definitely British-born, one possibly born in Demerara, and twenty-seven whose birthplace is uncertain, but is most likely to have been England. There are thirty-one Oxbridge graduates, twenty-one of whom are Barbadians by birth, nine British, and one of uncertain birthplace. One Barbadian-born clergyman is possibly to be identified with an Oxbridge graduate. The list also includes the possible Trinity Dublin graduate mentioned earlier. There are six of the eleven fellows or former fellows of Oxbridge colleges; none of them was a Barbadian by birth, and only one a parochial clergyman, the others being the first bishop and first two archdeacons of Barbados, a principal of Codrington College, and Newman's friend Hurrell Proude, who was briefly a lecturer at Codrington. The eighty-eight also include six Oxbridge matriculates (one British, three Barbadian, and two of uncertain birthplace) and two of uncertain birthplace who were perhaps matriculates. Samuel Hinds and W. W. Jackson fall

into this period, as do the two clergymen with unverified degrees.

It is interesting to compare the Barbados clergy with those of Jamaica. The Rev. R. A. Minter found about 269 recorded for Jamaica in the period 1661-1823, and he calculated that of these 68.4% had attended a university.⁷¹ The figures above would make the percentage for Barbados approximately 33.6% for the period 1627-1838 and 42% for 1780-1838. Even if all possible identifications are counted as certainties, which is unlikely to be the truth, the figures increase only to 50% for 1627-1838 and 46.6% for 1780-1838. This may suggest no more than that if English university men were induced by necessity or their own volition to go to the West Indies they were more likely to choose the wealthier colony. A more striking contrast is in the number of creole clergy. Mr. Minter found that in Jamaica only about fifteen of his 269 clergy were either Jamaican-born or the sons of parents normally resident in the island, although there was a similar number who, although not Jamaicans by birth, had spent part of their adult life in the island in secular employment, usually as tutors or schoolmasters, before going to England for ordination. These fifteen represent less than 5.6% of the whole, whereas in Barbados for the period 1627-1838 just over 24% of the clergy would appear to have been native-born, and for 1780-1838 about 54.5%. It may also be noted that the proportion of Barbadian-born among the island's graduate clergy is over two-thirds in the later period. The different time-spans mean that the figures are not strictly comparable, and the years 1824-1838 would probably show an increase

in the proportion of native-born clergy in Jamaica, but it seems clear that there was a marked difference between the islands in this respect, which is perhaps attributable to there being more of a resident aristocracy in Barbados: many of the native-born clergy came from families such as those of Duke, Hinds, and Pinder, whose members were distinguished by virtue of their wealth or official position.

As was the case in England at this period, there was a tendency for clergymen to have clerical relatives. Leaving aside the clergy in Barbados whose relatives included clergy in England, there are several instances of pairs of fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, or brothers, who both served as clergy in Barbados, and such pairs included ones who came out from England as well as those native to the colony. The Barbadian family of Duke provided the island with at least four clergymen in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are also a number of cases of clergy being related to each other by marriage.

Clerical wills, though often less detailed than one might like, give a picture of general prosperity. Mention occurs of horses, carriages, plate, gold watches and so forth, and from an early date some clergy owned or had shares in plantations. Specific mention of books in wills is rare, as are charitable bequests, though one of these is impressive: the Rev. Gilbert Ramsay died in 1728 as Rector of Christ Church, a position which he had filled since 1692, having previously served in Antigua, and his bequests totalled several thousand pounds, including one of £4,800 to the Corporation of New Aberdeen for religious and charitable purposes.⁷² The

Rev. William Terrill, whose will was proved in 1797, confirmed the portion of £3,000 which he had previously settled on his wife, and also left her £50 a year for life. Four children were to receive £1,000 currency each, and his eldest son, not previously mentioned, was to have the residue of the estate, which was presumably of a value at least equal to the bequests which were to be enjoyed by each of his siblings.⁷³ When the Rev. William Garnett made his will in 1834 he left £3,000 currency to each of four children, stating that he had already given a similar sum to each of his two married daughters on the occasion of their marriage. These six children were to share the unspecified residue of the estate.⁷⁴ At the other end of the scale, the Rev. Robert Bowcher, who died in 1795 after twenty-two years as Rector of Christ Church, asked that his debts be paid as well as possible, adding "Having no provision to make for my wife and children, I commit them to the care and protection of God Almighty's providence."⁷⁵

Specific mention of slaves in clerical wills is uncommon, but this is at least partly due to the fact that many wills, after a few itemised legacies, dispose of the rest of the estate without giving any details of it. An example is that of the Rev. Thomas Allinson, which after leaving two sums of money, bequeaths the rest of his property to his wife for her lifetime, to be disposed of afterwards for the benefit of the testator's brothers and sisters in England.⁷⁶ There are no further details of the estate, and it is impossible to tell from the will whether or not Allinson was a slave-owner. He is identified as such, however, by an entry in the St. Philip

burial register, 28 November 1809: "George Allinson inft negro boy belonging to the present Rector."⁷⁷ Thus although on the evidence of wills and occasional references in parish registers I have identified thirty-one of the Barbados clergy as slave-owners, nineteen of these being in the period after 1780, this figure is almost certainly too low. Of the thirty-two clergy in Barbados at the time of Emancipation, only one, the Rev. William Drake Sealy, appears in the official returns of slave compensation specified by his clerical title. The names of sixteen others are to be found, including those of three known to have been slave-owners from other evidence, but with the exception of Sealy, it should be stressed that the identity of these claimants with clergymen of the same name is not certain, though there is nothing inherently improbable about clerical slave-holding, even on a large scale, at so late a date.⁷⁸

How far the clergy of Barbados considered their own and other people's slaves to form part of their parishes, and the attitudes of the Church in the island to the questions of slavery and race will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

"To the Tawneys and Blacks also":

the Church's message to the Barbadian slave population.

In his primary charge, delivered in different islands of his diocese in 1830 and 1831, Bishop Coleridge remarked that at the time of his arrival "The free-coloured, and slave population, were not necessarily regarded as forming any regular part of the parochial Minister's care ..."¹ This is something of an understatement, and if applied to the earlier history of Barbados becomes even more of one. Soon after the settlement we find the planters claiming that as Christianity and slavery were incompatible, and they could not do without their slaves, it was necessary to refuse to allow the slaves to be converted. This led Richard Ligon, a resident in Barbados in the late 1640s, to believe that Christ "himself has set up his own Cross" in the pattern visible in a cut banana, in order "to reproach these men, who rather than they will lose the hold they have of them as slaves, will deny them the benefit and blessing of being Christians."²

A French priest who was in the island a few years later merely noted that "The masters never think of their slaves' souls",³ but by 1680, when the Rev. Morgan Godwyn published his Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church, which had been written in Barbados, there had been a

slight shift in opinion. The law of the island now declared that baptism made no difference to a slave's civil condition, but slaves were still denied Christianity, since the system of negro slavery, which had originally been a purely economic expedient, however brutal, was now buttressed by assumptions about black racial inferiority. Godwyn found it necessary to begin his book with a long scholastic argument designed to refute the contention that negroes were not human beings, or that, even if they were, they were still inferior to whites because they were subject to the curse of Ham. He cited many examples of the cruelty and prejudice of white Barbadians, and said that the island's clergy were too cowed by their white parishioners to do more than make occasional protests, in spite of the Quaker taunts of "Who made you Ministers of the Gospel to the White people only, and not to the Tawneys and Blacks also?" Godwyn does indicate that two clergy of the established church (whom he does not name) were not so supine, and that one of these had preached a sermon in which he said that "Negroes have souls to be saved, no less than other people, and an equal right, even with us, to the merits of Christ." It is probable that the author of this sermon was William Frith, Rector of St. Michael, who is known to have been deprived of his benefice early in 1678, and that the sermon was the cause of his deprivation.⁴

Little had changed twenty years later, when another French priest noted of the Barbadian slaves that "The clergy do not instruct and do not baptise them. They are regarded pretty nearly as beasts ..."⁵

There were always occasional exceptions, such as "Jane Adams The Molletto

slight shift in opinion. The law of the island now declared that baptism made no difference to a slave's civil condition, but slaves were still denied Christianity, since the system of negro slavery, which had originally been a purely economic expedient, however brutal, was now buttressed by assumptions about black racial inferiority. Godwyn found it necessary to begin his book with a long scholastic argument designed to refute the contention that negroes were not human beings, or that, even if they were, they were still inferior to whites because they were subject to the curse of Ham. He cited many examples of the cruelty and prejudice of white Barbadians, and said that the island's clergy were too cowed by their white parishioners to do more than make occasional protests, in spite of the Quaker taunts of "Who made you Ministers of the Gospel to the White people only, and not to the Tawneys and Blacks also?" Godwyn does indicate that two clergy of the established church (whom he does not name) were not so supine, and that one of these had preached a sermon in which he said that "Negroes have souls to be saved, no less than other people, and an equal right, even with us, to the merits of Christ." It is probable that the author of this sermon was William Frith, Rector of St. Michael, who is known to have been deprived of his benefice early in 1678, and that the sermon was the cause of his deprivation.⁴

Little had changed twenty years later, when another French priest noted of the Barbadian slaves that "The clergy do not instruct and do not baptise them. They are regarded pretty nearly as beasts ..."⁵

There were always occasional exceptions, such as "Jane Adams The Molletto

slave of M^{rs} Thorpe", who was baptised in St. James, 1 December 1700, and apparently married in the same church to a free man less than three weeks later.⁶ In the eighteenth century clergy in England repeatedly called for efforts to be made for the conversion of the slaves. In 1723, for example, Bishop Gibson addressed a circular letter to the colonial clergy which asked, among other things, what was done for the heathen in each parish - to which the answer was, in most cases, nothing.⁷ He followed this in 1729 with two printed letters "To the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English PLANTATIONS abroad; Exhorting them to Encourage and Promote the Instruction of their NEGROES in the Christian Faith," and "To the MISSIONARIES there; Directing them to distribute the said Letter, and Exhorting them to give their Assistance towards the Instruction of the NEGROES within their several Parishes,"⁸ but these appear to have had little effect. Leaving aside the views of Whitefield and Wesley, we find no shortage of comments by churchmen on the question of converting slaves, and occasionally on that of slavery itself. Such occur frequently in the S.P.G. Anniversary Sermons, many of which mention the desirability of converting West Indian slaves, usually with particular reference to the Codrington plantations. Bishop Warburton, who preached the Anniversary Sermon in 1766, denounced both the slave-trade and conditions in the West Indies in forthright terms,⁹ but other prelates adopted a more moderate tone. It was claimed for example that "Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God, and of the race of mankind for whom Christ died; and it is inexcusable to keep them in ignorance of the end for

which they were made, and the means whereby they may become partakers of the general redemption."¹⁰ Far from there being any practical inconveniences to be feared, another preacher pointed out "that the doctrines of Christianity, instead of rendering them unapt for servitude, will, indeed, make them better servants ..."¹¹

These exhortations do not appear to have made much impact in the West Indies, and in Barbados the rector of St. Lucy was probably giving expression to a fairly general opinion when he remarked in 1750 that while the conversion of slaves was a laudable design in theory, yet "the Difficulties attending it are, and I am afraid ever will be, unsurmountable."¹² Towards the end of the century, however, a change had occurred as both English missionary societies and some Barbadian clergymen undertook the christianization of slaves. The manner in which they did so is reflected in the theological literature of the period, and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine this in detail.

Even in major British libraries it is difficult to trace West Indian material of this type, as a religious tract or pamphlet published in London may make no mention of the West Indies in the title, and it may be only by chance that the researcher recognises the author's name as that of a Barbadian or Jamaican clergyman. The attempt to trace a particular sermon known to have existed will soon lead the historian to realize that such items, especially if they were actually printed in the West Indies, probably only in small editions, have not survived very well, and that such as can be found are often preserved only by chance. For example, Bodleian Library GP 2696 is a bound collection of twenty-six pamphlets

which appear to have belonged to a nineteenth-century rector of Carriacou. They include copies of various works by Bishop Coleridge, sermons delivered in the West Indies by other authors, including two preached in Carriacou, and miscellaneous items, such as a special Form of Prayer used in Grenada in 1837 as a result of a small-pox outbreak. Many of these titles I have never seen elsewhere.

Nevertheless, theological literature of both English and West Indian origin has a great deal to offer the Caribbean historian. The English literature is important for three reasons. In the first place it provided part of the ideological background of West Indian clerical authors - when we find a West Indian urging obedience to social superiors as a religious duty it is helpful to remember that the same theme is to be found in English literature from the Reformation (to go back no further) and that many English authors placed particular stress upon it at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Secondly, individual religious works of English origin can be shown to have been used in the West Indies. The book-bills of the Conversion Society, for example, show that in 1795 and 1796 over six thousand assorted tracts were sent out to the Society's three missionaries in Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Kitts for distribution among the slave population. Short titles are given, and most of them are identifiable as coming from Hannah More's series of Cheap Repository Tracts.¹³ Nor was the established church alone in the West Indies in its use of purely English material. George Burder (1752-1832) was an English congregationalist minister who appears to have had no connection with the West Indies at all, but his works were used on a

regular basis in at least one Baptist chapel in Jamaica - in 1836 Knibb stated that in his own absence a young man would read to the congregation from one of Burder's Village Sermons.¹⁴ Thirdly, in addition to discussions of the slave trade and of slavery by clerical authors, there exist a number of religious tracts intended for an English public which give some information about racial attitudes, such as the story of "The Negro Servant" which forms part of the Rev. Legh Richmond's best-selling Annals of the Poor, and the anonymous Babay. A True Story of a Good Negro Woman and the True Account of a Pious Negro.¹⁵

One of the more interesting works of apparently English provenance is the Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes, which was published anonymously in London in 1785 and 1789.¹⁶ The bulk of this consists of ten "Instructions" which are couched in the form of dialogues between Minister and Negro, and which form an abridgement of the Instructions for Indians written by Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1697 to 1755. Wilson originally envisaged that his work might be used for the conversion of black slaves as well as of free (North American) Indians; many times reprinted, it was extremely influential, and was certainly known in the West Indies, being sent out by the Conversion Society.¹⁷ It consists of a summary of the Christian faith in dialogue form.

The Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes is presumably the same work as the Instructions for Negroes which appears in the book-bills of the Conversion Society. Apart from changing Wilson's "Missionary" and "Indian" to

"Minister" and "Negro", the abridgement is so heavily based on Wilson that the text of the actual Instructions is taken virtually word for word from the original, but it is not without interest, as the omissions alter the emphasis considerably. We do find it stated that among "the sure signs, that the Holy Spirit of God governs any man" is "Being content with our condition";¹⁸ the Negro, like Wilson's Indian, notices that his interlocutor often mentions "our being God's servants, and serving God";¹⁹ an injunction against seeking revenge is repeated; the reader is cautioned "that Christians ought not to desire riches so eagerly as generally they do; nor ought they who want them to think themselves unhappy, or not beloved by God";²⁰ and the Minister explains

that the Christian religion is intended by God to cure the corruption of our nature, and to make us happy, by making us holy, honest and good; - by making Christians the best neighbours, the truest friends, - the kindest masters, - the most faithful servants ...²¹

These themes are, however, of less importance than they are in the original. For example, the Indian's specific question on the duty of servants, and the Missionary's reply to it, which in Wilson lays particular stress on obedience, industry and integrity, are omitted in the abridgement, as are a number of passages in Wilson which emphasise the divine obligation of diligence in one's calling.

Wilson and his abridgement share a number of passages on the universality of

the Christian message, such as the following!

he (God) made one man and one woman, called Adam and Eve, determining to make of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth; all which are the offspring of that one man and woman.²²

Far from accepting the idea that the curse of Ham affected all black people, as Wilson did in his preface,²³ the abridgement goes out of its way to stress the equality of black and white in the only passages where it actually adds to Wilson's text!

The substance of these laws was given soon after the flood to Noah and his family, from whom all the white and black people now alive did come.²⁴

You have said, that you are fully convinced, - that there is but one God of all the nations of the world; that white people and black people have but one God ...²⁵

... he has appointed certain persons his ministers ... to offer up to God prayers and thanks for all men; - and, whether white or black, to endeavour that all men may attain that happiness, which Jesus Christ has purchased by his most precious blood.²⁶

The collection of psalms and hymns at the end of the book is without particular interest, but one of the prayers may be quoted!

Most gracious God, who by thy most wise Providence hast appointed to mankind their several stations, I beseech Thee to bless me with health of body and comfort of mind, that I may perform my daily task with cheerfulness and resignation, doing my duty as unto Thee, and not merely as unto men; trusting to thy gracious promise, for a reward of my honesty and faithfulness, which thou wilt give me, for the sake of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.²⁷

Performing one's duty "faithfully and chearfully" (<sic>) is mentioned in one of the other prayers,²⁸ but it cannot be said that much weight is placed on this. One of the prayers envisages the Negro's attending Church.

In comparison with Wilson's original, the Instructions for Negroes must have had a decided advantage where its intended purpose was concerned. It lays greater stress upon the common humanity of God's people, and by reducing the emphasis on secular duties, it puts into a clearer light the message of salvation itself.

Wilson's work inspired at least the proposal of another version, for in 1788 the Barbados Mercury carried an advertisement which invited subscriptions for a forthcoming "compendious abridgement of the Bishop of Sodor and Man's Instructions for the Indians divested of the form of Q. and A. and digested into short and easy lectures (<sic>) for the use of the Negroes in the W. I."²⁹ This never seems to have appeared, owing presumably to the existence of the rival Instructions for Negroes, but the author of the intended abridgement was to have been the Rev. Henry Evans Holder, who in 1791-2 published four volumes of Discourses on Various Subjects, besides several smaller works at other times. A Barbadian by birth, Holder was ordained in 1782, with a title as assistant at St.

Most gracious God, who by thy most wise Providence hast appointed to mankind their several stations, I beseech Thee to bless me with health of body and comfort of mind, that I may perform my daily task with cheerfulness and resignation, doing my duty as unto Thee, and not merely as unto men; trusting to thy gracious promise, for a reward of my honesty and faithfulness, which thou wilt give me, for the sake of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.²⁷

Performing one's duty "faithfully and chearfully" (<sic>) is mentioned in one of the other prayers,²⁸ but it cannot be said that much weight is placed on this. One of the prayers envisages the Negro's attending Church.

In comparison with Wilson's original, the Instructions for Negroes must have had a decided advantage where its intended purpose was concerned. It lays greater stress upon the common humanity of God's people, and by reducing the emphasis on secular duties, it puts into a clearer light the message of salvation itself.

Wilson's work inspired at least the proposal of another version, for in 1788 the Barbados Mercury carried an advertisement which invited subscriptions for a forthcoming "compendious abridgement of the Bishop of Sodor and Man's Instructions for the Indians divested of the form of Q. and A. and digested into short and easy lectures (<sic>) for the use of the Negroes in the W. I."²⁹ This never seems to have appeared, owing presumably to the existence of the rival Instructions for Negroes, but the author of the intended abridgement was to have been the Rev. Henry Evans Holder, who in 1791-2 published four volumes of Discourses on Various Subjects, besides several smaller works at other times. A Barbadian by birth, Holder was ordained in 1782, with a title as assistant at St.

Joseph's, and was briefly Rector of St. Thomas in 1789-90. He then appears to have gone to England for the sake of his health, being in Bristol by February 1791, and was dead by 1805.³⁰ Described by William Dickson as "a clergyman of learning and piety, whose treatment of the Slaves, on his large sugar plantation, was uncommonly humane; but who, being a man of studious and retired habits, modestly supposed that he treated them no better than others",³¹ Holder was the author of two works which defended slavery as practised in Barbados, and which described the institution in extraordinarily rosy terms. He advocated the Christianization of slaves, claiming that this would benefit both the slaves and their masters, but insisted that it must not be imposed as "an involuntary obligation" which would "reduce that to an empty formality, which is intended to work upon the mind, and to establish a lasting and a purifying influence upon it."³² In 1784 and 1785 fifty-six of Holder's slaves were baptised, forty-five of them on Christmas Day 1784, and another four were baptised in 1793.³³ Presumably Holder at least was convinced that these baptisms represented real rather than nominal conversions.

Belonging to a slightly older generation than Holder, but a man whose influence, perhaps greater, was contemporary, was the Rev. William Duke, a Barbadian by birth, and of a well-connected family, who was Rector of St. Thomas from 1758 until his death in 1786.³⁴

I have found virtually no information on Duke's conduct, either as a clergyman or a slave-owner,³⁵ but by 1788 a clergyman in Dominica, and by 1789 another in Bermuda, were using a course of lectures by him as a means of converting slaves.³⁶

I have failed to trace a copy of the original edition , but a second edition was printed in Gloucester in 1790 by Robert Raikes, the promoter of Sunday Schools. Another edition appeared in London in 1794, a fourth, with a slightly different title, in 1803, a fifth in 1811, and an eighth in 1822, at about which time fifty copies were sent to Antigua by the Conversion Society. The title-page of the second edition describes the Lectures as "chiefly delivered in the parish-church of St. Thomas, in the island of Barbadoes ... By the Rev. William Duke, LL.B. Late Rector of that parish, and formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge." On that of the fourth the mention of Barbados is omitted, and the author is simply "the Rev. William Duke, LL.B. Formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge."³⁷ Both the second and the fourth editions have a dedication to Bishop Porteus signed by "The Editor", who has also supplied a preface, where it is stated that

These Discourses were composed, as the Reader will easily discover, for the use of a congregation, more uninformed than we of this enlightened hemisphere can easily conceive! he will find that the pious Author scarcely takes it for granted, that his hearers have any notion of a Supreme Being ...

It is stated that this is to be regarded as the chief merit of the work, making it suitable for use in English conditions, perhaps especially in Sunday Schools!

We cannot too strongly recommend the simplicity of these addresses to the unlearned; and such, every Preacher should consider, as constituting the majority of his congregation.^{37a}

In the absence of a copy of the first edition, it is of course impossible to estimate how much adaptation has been done by the anonymous editor. It is just possible that this was originally no more than the substitution of the word "servant" for the word "slave" throughout.³⁸ The fourth edition is very much altered from the second; many of the changes are of the most trivial nature, but others appear to have been deliberately intended to make the work more suited to an audience of English agricultural poor than to one of West Indian slaves, by changing certain passages which assume that the hearers are almost without exception ignorant of Christianity, illiterate, and totally dependent upon their social superiors, for other, similar, passages which assume that they suffer these afflictions in a lesser degree.³⁹ The introduction of these variations, and the presence of turns of phrase in the second edition, which have been edited out in the fourth, and which appear to be West Indian, or even specifically Barbadian,⁴⁰ suggest that the second edition is probably very close to Duke's original words. The fact that the work continued to be reprinted and used for more than forty years makes it worthy of attention in any case.

The Lectures stress the universality of God's love and of the Christian message. It is explained that although "GOD has made different people for different employments"; this does not affect their spiritual equality:

We are all obliged to do some business while we live in this world; for GOD did not send us into it to do nothing; and while you, whom he hath made servants, are honestly and quietly

doing your business, GOD will regard you as serving Him, and take as much notice of you, as if you were the greatest and richest men upon earth.⁴¹

It is true that there is a passage which, by its claim that the audience should be grateful for the blessings which they have in a situation which would be envied by many others who labour "in a state of cruel bondage", implies (if it really is as delivered by Duke) a decidedly over-idealized view of Barbadian slavery,⁴² and another which encapsulates the classic assumptions of paternalism!

I consider the meanest of my people as a part of my family, and treat them with care and tenderness! by these means, most of them are dutiful from motives of affection, and seldom deserve to be reprov'd.⁴³

Duke makes use of the well-worn theme of the reciprocal nature of the Master/Slave relationship, but this does not stop him making remarks which imply criticism of the higher ranks of Barbadian society!

... if your betters, as they are called, choose to assemble with you, I should be glad to see them, as they may perhaps be instructed as well as you.

You are many of you in a state of subjection and dependance, and must know that you ought to be obedient; and if you will but do your duty with willing minds, they must be hard-hearted indeed that can treat you ill.

You may perhaps say that you see your betters, by which you

mean your superiors, do as you do, and they ought to set you good examples! but pray remember, that everyone will be punished for his own sins ... it is to be wished that your superiors would behave themselves better than they do, and that while they call themselves Christians, they would not live worse than Heathens.⁴⁴

The fact that by the fourth edition the first two of these passages have been drastically modified and toned down, and the third one entirely omitted, strongly suggests that they are original and not the interpolation of an editor.

Duke urges upon his audience the duty of contentment in their station, and states openly his belief that their conversion will be of benefit to their masters, but it is clear that he had doubts as to whether the masters would see it in this light!

If I can work any reformation among you, I certainly shall do the greatest kindness, not only to yourselves, but also to them to whom you belong. If any shall despise my labours, and even discourage these my well-intentioned endeavours, they are to be pitied, as persons that have not considered the matter properly; which if ever they do, they will alter their opinion, and think and act more reasonably. If I should even be reviled by some evil-minded people for these my exhortations to you, such revilings will give me no pain on my account, so long as I am sensible I am discharging my duty ...⁴⁵

Duke's careful explanation that the dead have no need of anything which the living can do for them is perhaps a reference to slave funeral customs, and he notes that "Many ignorant Christians undervalue, and have not a proper regard for Baptism; they desire it, principally, to become entitled to Christian burial," which

he describes as being of itself "a very trifling privilege." He tells his audience that

If you have attended to the chapter, which you have heard so frequently read to you at the burial of your friends, you must have observed what stress the Apostle lays on the doctrine of the Resurrection

which, if it is as delivered by Duke, implies that the importance given by slaves to funerals meant that the burial service was the Christian rite with which they were best acquainted.⁴⁶

Duke refers to the Resurrection again, when he expatiates on the blessings of the life to come in a manner calculated to appeal to his hearers:

You will be quietly laid for a time, in that place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest; where the prisoners rest together, and hear not the voice of the oppressor; where both small and great are laid, and the servant is free from his master; after which, if you have but been faithful to GOD, and sober, diligent, and honest in your dealings with men, you shall arise to a new life of happiness that shall never have an end ... a doctrine so full of comfort, that it is alone sufficient to raise the drooping spirit, to sustain the fainting heart, to sweeten your present miseries, to lighten your heavy burthens, to encourage you in all dangers, and to support you in all adversities.⁴⁷

He explains the intercession of Christ in terms of a friend interceding "When a servant has grievously offended his master" - a common West Indian practice - and the image of a servant who has offended his master is used again, in connection

he describes as being of itself "a very trifling privilege." He tells his audience that

If you have attended to the chapter, which you have heard so frequently read to you at the burial of your friends, you must have observed what stress the Apostle lays on the doctrine of the Resurrection

which, if it is as delivered by Duke, implies that the importance given by slaves to funerals meant that the burial service was the Christian rite with which they were best acquainted.⁴⁶

Duke refers to the Resurrection again, when he expatiates on the blessings of the life to come in a manner calculated to appeal to his hearers:

You will be quietly laid for a time, in that place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest; where the prisoners rest together, and hear not the voice of the oppressor; where both small and great are laid, and the servant is free from his master! after which, if you have but been faithful to GOD, and sober, diligent, and honest in your dealings with men, you shall arise to a new life of happiness that shall never have an end ... a doctrine so full of comfort, that it is alone sufficient to raise the drooping spirit, to sustain the fainting heart, to sweeten your present miseries, to lighten your heavy burthens, to encourage you in all dangers, and to support you in all adversities.⁴⁷

He explains the intercession of Christ in terms of a friend interceding "When a servant has grievously offended his master" - a common West Indian practice - and the image of a servant who has offended his master is used again, in connection

with God's forgiveness.⁴⁸

Duke returns repeatedly to his basic theme, which is exemplified in the following passage:

Jesus Christ died for us all; for all mankind, without any difference or distinction of persons; for high and low, for rich and poor, for bond and free; so that the meanest of you all are capable of the salvation procured by Christ ...⁴⁹

Christ Himself is described as a poor man, one who served others, and who loved the poor:

He is born the son of a poor, as well as pure Virgin; espoused to a man, mean in his outward station, but irreproachable in his character and conduct; descended, as well as the Virgin Mary, from the House of David, and, therefore, of a royal family. During his infancy and childhood, He retired with his parents, and was subject unto them; He was ready to assist in the occupation of his father, and was obedient to his commands; giving us an example, even in this his retirement, of diligence in our station, and submission to our parents and to those that are set over us ... He was to go forth among men, to preach the Gospel to such poor as yourselves; not choosing the rich in this world, but such as were rich in faith, ready to hear his sermons, and willing to do what He commanded them.⁵⁰

The conclusion of the final lecture, on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, appropriately sums up Duke's view of the Christian message as a whole:

... you will find it the best preservative against sin; the best

support under all your troubles! the best remedy for all the diseases of your minds! you will grow more sober, more virtuous, more diligent, more obedient to your masters, more kind and friendly one towards another! you will be more strictly just and honest in all your dealings, and, in consequence of all this, more easy and happy! more comfortable while you live, and better prepared and more ready to die. You will be united in your affections to the Author and Giver of all blessings upon earth! and the first desire of your hearts will be, when you leave this world, to dwell with Him in a state of perfect happiness and glory! where with Angels and Archangels, and all the Host of Heaven, you may laud and magnify your Great Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, to all eternity!

To which blessed state may GOD of his infinite mercy bring us all, through the merits of Jesus Christ our LORD! to whom, with the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be ascribed all honour and glory, thanksgiving and praise, henceforth and for evermore. Amen. Amen.⁵¹

At least as influential as Duke's Lectures, in the West Indies, if not in England, were those composed by the Rev. William Marshall Harte. Successively a curate at St. Michael's, usher and catechist at Codrington, Rector of St. Joseph and then of St. Lucy, and finally Curate of St. Mary's, Harte was a Barbadian by birth, and at least at one point in his career a slave-owner. His habit of lecturing on the elements of Christianity to congregations of slaves assembled in the parish church brought him considerable harassment from his white parishioners, including threats of physical violence, the reduction of his income, and in 1827 prosecution for "using such language ... as tended ... to excite a spirit of insubordination and tumult amongst the ... slaves."⁵²

When Harte was in England in 1820-21 he seems to have taken with him copies

of some lectures which he had delivered to slaves in St. Lucy. On 13 June 1821 the Conversion Society agreed to the suggestion of its president (Bishop Howley of London) that some manuscript "Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew written for the Instruction of the Negroes by the Rev. W. M. Harte" should be printed.⁵³ Howley was able to show the Society's General Court a proof of the title and preface of the Lectures on 3 December 1822, and the printing was complete before 19 February 1823, when Rivington's (the printers) sent two copies to one of the Society's missionaries in Jamaica, and a hundred to Harte himself.⁵⁴ Harte acknowledged receipt of these, 7 June 1823, and according to the version of his letter recorded in the Society's minutes,⁵⁵ stated that

Their patronage had been of essential service to the cause which the Lectures were designed to promote, and will, he has reason to believe, materially contribute to its success and advancement in his Island. The work is in considerable demand which he attributes entirely to the Society's support, and to the highly respectable sanction which it seems generally understood that the Lord Bishop of London has been graciously pleased to give it. The Hundred Copies which Mr. Harte has received have been distributed among the Clergy, and Authorities of Barbadoes, and the adjacent Islands; and he trusts it may tend to remove all prejudices against the religious instruction of the numerous class of our fellow-creatures for whose benefit the Lectures were written; and may, under the Divine Blessing, tend to promote their Conversion to the Christian Faith, and general Improvement in principles and morals; objects in themselves truly desirable, and never perhaps in a political point of view more expedient and necessary than at this critical time.

Harte also said that he had written some more lectures on the same subject, which

completed the course, and which he would shortly be sending to the Society.

Eighteen copies of the first volume were sent to the Rev. D. G. Davis in Nevis, 15 December 1823, and from other book-bills of the Society it appears that a thousand copies of the second volume were printed by Rivington's, July 1824, and that during that and the following year various quantities of either sets of the two volumes, or of the second volume alone, were sent to the bishops of Barbados and Jamaica, to Harte, and to other clergy in the West Indies.⁵⁶ Another bill from Rivington's, which includes an item for "printing 1000 Hartes Lectures in 12^o" and paper for the same, has the year obscured by a mount, but the fact that these items are dated 4 November suggests that they do not refer to the 1823 printing of the first volume, which was not ready by December of the previous year.⁵⁷ There is a copy of a duodecimo edition, with both volumes dated 1824, in the University Library, Cambridge, and it is possible that the bill refers to this edition.

There appear to have been at least three editions, for the one of which there is a copy in Cambridge is clearly not the first edition, the first volume of which was printed in 1823, and another edition, each volume of which (the first printed 1824, the second 1826) is described as a second edition, is listed by Handler, who locates a copy in the Institute of Jamaica.⁵⁸ An 1824 edition is listed in the British Library catalogue, but is said to have been destroyed during the war.

The Lectures clearly enjoyed an extensive circulation in the West Indies, and in England the Christian Remembrancer, reviewing another of Harte's books, could say that the Lectures had earned him "no mean reputation as a sound practical

divine,"⁵⁹ Whilst they now appear to be extremely scarce, as late as 1838 Caldecott described them as "to be found even to-day among the cottage books of English parishes."⁶⁰

Harte's motives in composing and delivering the Lectures are clear. As he told his white parishioners, he saw around him thousands leading what he considered to be a depraved and heathen life, and the Bible commanded him to preach the Gospel to those who were ignorant of it.⁶¹ He informed the slaves

as I know, that nobody can be saved, who does not believe in Jesus Christ, I cannot bear to let you go on without doing my best to teach you to know him. It will give me a ~~good~~ deal of trouble, and I shall get no profit by it.

However, the slightest success would be its own reward!

Oh! could I but draw only one of you from that bottomless pit, into which every wicked soul must fall! could I persuade but one of you to turn from the error of his ways, and to live like one redeemed by the Lord, I should not think any trouble or pains too much.⁶²

The Lectures are in most respects extremely conventional! Harte preaches against "the acknowledged vices of the Negroe character," which he assured the whites it was "the acknowledged tendency of Christianity to correct,"⁶³ chiefly sexual promiscuity, laziness, swearing, stealing, and Sabbath-breaking. Two minor but noticeable themes are the vanity of Obeah and the terrible punishment which

God has visited upon the Jews for refusing Christ. Only once is there any sign that Harte was dissatisfied with things as they were, when he says

If the world were a world of Christians, if all persons, whites as well as blacks, would behave as their Saviour orders them, what a different world would it be from what it now is,

In contrast, he frequently urges the slaves to be content with their lot, even suggesting that its hardness is a blessing in disguise!

however fatiguing it may sometimes be to your bodies, take my word for it that you have reason to thank your Heavenly Father for giving you so much employment and work, that you have no time for listening to the temptations of the devil ...

Mere eye-service was condemned, since "there is no fault more generally found with slaves, than that they require the eye of a white person to be constantly over them."⁶⁴ Harte had strong views on the observance of the Sabbath, and it is accordingly interesting to find him telling the slaves that he regretted they had to spend part of Sunday cultivating or marketing their own food, but that there was no remedy for it: "Your owners could not possibly afford to give you one day in the week for your own uses." Rebellion was warned against, and Harte particularly emphasised that "The idea of living without being subject to law and authority is the most foolish and mad one, that has ever entered into the heads of vile and wicked men." Finally and perhaps most important from the planters' point of view,

Harte explicitly stated that Christianity and slavery were perfectly compatible!

Most of you are slaves. And your Saviour has never said that slaves must be made free ... It would be a strange mistake indeed, if any slave supposed that when he was made a Christian, he was no longer a slave. The Christian religion does not trouble itself with these things. All it aims at is to make us happy in the next world, and members of Christ's kingdom in heaven ... When our Saviour lived on earth, a great many people were just what you are now, slaves to their owners. And when his Gospel was preached in many countries, it found many people slaves. And yet, it never commanded owners to set their slaves at liberty ... A great deal may be thought and said about freedom. And wicked and designing men did once put into the heads of the slaves of this country many foolish notions about freedom ... I assure you from this sacred place, that in the present state of your minds, and your little knowledge of religion, freedom would be a curse to you, and not a blessing. For where a slave has a good and humane master, and behaves so as to deserve good treatment, he is much happier than many thousands in other parts of the world.⁶⁵

to be

One is left wondering what the whites found so objectionable, and indeed Sir Reynold Alleyne, later one of Harte's opponents, had at first only praise for the rector's attempts to christianize the slaves. The planters considered religion a potentially valuable means of social control, and Harte promised to observe "that marked distinction which ... ought to exist in a state of society so constituted as our's is" and to "set apart certain pews, not used by the whites, for the accommodation of the slaves."⁶⁶ But in spite of his assurance to the whites that he was willing "as far as I can consistently do so, to yield even to your fair and allowable prejudices,"⁶⁷ it is clear that by his Lectures, and by his conduct in

bringing the slaves into the church, instead of merely taking religion to the plantations, Harte was indeed, as he was accused of doing by the white parishioners of St. Lucy, "inculcating doctrines of equality" among the slaves, "inconsistent with their obedience to their masters and the policy of this island." Telling the slaves "that though poor, they may be rich in faith, and if they try to live as their Saviour lived, pure, holy, harmless and undefiled, they will sit down in the kingdom of Heaven" almost necessarily had the corollary which Harte gave it! "they, who despise them will be shut out."⁶⁸ He told the slave that

God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him, can be made a Christian. The colour of the skin makes no difference in his sight. Slavery does not make any one contemptible before him. The same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.⁶⁹

He proclaimed Christianity as "particularly a religion for the poor",⁷⁰ and emphasised the poverty of Christ, "who was obliged to work a miracle in order to pay a small tax," and His concern for the poor during His earthly ministry.⁷¹ Above all, Harte promised his hearers that

You may be poor and mean, and ignorant, and slaves, and humble in thinking of yourselves, and yet be Christians, and inherit everlasting life through the merits and for the sake of Christ.⁷²

It is obvious from the Lectures that Harte had a very low opinion of the morals and

capacities of the negroes, but it is equally clear he firmly believed that these could be improved by instruction, and that at least where matters of grace were concerned, the black slave could truly become the equal of his white master.

Two other works by Barbadian-born clergymen may be noted. One is the Catechist's Manual by Samuel Hinds, later Bishop of Norwich, which appears to have been written during the author's ministry in Barbadoes, or shortly afterwards. It is essentially a commentary on St. Mark's Gospel, of a purely theological nature, and there is nothing which can be interpreted as having reference to particularly West Indian conditions.⁷³ Of a rather different character is a tract called Advice to Servants by the Rev. John Hothersall Pinder, who was chaplain at Codrington 1818-27 and, at least when the Advice was written, a slave-owner himself, as is apparent from the work. The tract consists, in the words of its subtitle, of "Five Family Lectures delivered to Domestic Slaves in the Island of Barbadoes, in the year MDCCCXXII" and, as the title suggests, they were not intended as a general exposition of Christianity. The first lecture, "To Servants", is on the mutual obligations of master and servant, the others are warnings against vices clearly believed by Pinder to offer particular temptation to his audience - stealing, lying, idleness, and insobriety. The Christian Remembrancer, in the course of a review which gave lengthy extracts from the work,⁷⁴ noted of the lecture on stealing that "his remarks are as well suited to the servants in England, as they are to the domestic slaves of the West Indies." What Pinder has to say is for the most part entirely predictable, and his assumptions about the nature of society are made

plain at the outset:

The master is a person who has, perhaps, large property to look after, or he has to attend the courts of law, or visit patients as a doctor, or look after the souls, both young and old, in a congregation, or he has some other employment, which takes up much time. Of course, therefore, he must have a person in the capacity of a servant, to prepare his food against his return, keep his house neat, and prepare the table at which he may refresh himself by eating and drinking. Moreover, his clothes must be attended to, and kept clean for his use; his living animals, either for carrying him on journeys, or for the supply of his table, must be seen to and cared for. It is plain that he cannot, (either from having never been used to such habits, or from having his time employed in a more important way), attend to these things himself; and therefore, according to his means, he employs certain of his fellow-creatures to mind these duties for him.⁷⁵

It is explained that "It is the duty of the master to establish the worship of God in his family" and "the duty of the servant to be glad of such an opportunity", but he should not "presume upon this mark of religious favour - because admitted into the apartment where at other times he is seen on service"; it should indeed make him "more humble and respectful than ever."⁷⁶

The Christian Remembrancer felt that "the tie between the master and the slave has something patriarchal in its character," and noted approvingly such expressions of paternalist sentiment by Pinder as the following:

May the Almighty dispose my heart ever to be the friend as well as master of my servants - May they serve me in return, "not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of

heart, fearing God; and whatever they do, do it as to the Lord!" May I, like Cornelius, not serve God by myself, but "with all my house", and keep the way of the Lord.⁷⁷

Not all of Pinder's comments are so conventional. The first lecture takes as its text not only Colossians iii, 22, 23, but also the first verse of the following chapter - "Masters give unto your Servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven." Pinder is clear what this does not mean!

Shall his table be covered with rich meats and expensive wines, while the poor servant's allowance will not afford a comfortable meal of a day? Shall his clothes be costly and many, while his attendants' are few and ragged? Shall he be always gadding abroad in parties of pleasure, and yet begrudge, now and then, a little innocent amusement among well-behaved friends and relations of theirs? Shall his countenance be smooth and smiling to all others, and his words cross, and looks sour, to those who wait on his will?

From what follows it seems that Pinder assumes that masters do not mistreat their dependents in this way, and that therefore it is only fair that servants should perform their duties faithfully, responsibly and cheerfully. Nevertheless he ends the paragraph with a sentence which appears to suggest a qualification! "Such should be the return of servants, where it is really a master's wish to see them good and happy in his family."⁷⁸

One of the reasons urged for avoiding drunkenness is that the servant may be obliged to look after a drunken master,⁷⁹ and it is pointed out that one "way of making a person lie, is to accuse him without cause."⁸⁰ The advice which follows

seems directed as much to masters as to servants! "Consider every person as innocent, and treat him so, till you are satisfied in your own mind, or have very strong reasons indeed, from his behaviour, for believing that he is guilty."

Most surprising is the manner in which Pinder opens his attack upon idleness!

What right has any man to be waited upon by the rest of his fellow-men, without doing something in his turn for their good? Who made him Lord over all? If somebody was not industrious, where would be the food for us to eat, the clothes to put on? the house to live in? Then shall every body do something for me, and I nothing for them or myself? God forbid!⁸¹

We may also note how Pinder invites his hearers to identify with Christ the suffering servant, the comfort of the poor and humble!

He whom archangels were made to serve, came down, "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." "He went about doing good," He laboured until he was hungry, and the people came to him again, so that he could take no food! he walked till he was thirsty, and then was refused a draught of water. Like the sun that rules by day, he went his daily round, giving light and life; preaching peace but enjoying none; offering rest to weary souls, but not having where to lay his head. At length, bearing his own cross, he patiently suffered himself to be nailed to it, for our redemption. Even now he is actively engaged, praying in our behalf, guiding his servants, directing their duties, helping the performance, and preparing places in heaven against their coming thither; wherein we may rest neither day nor night from the blessed lot of praising and serving God for ever and ever!⁸²

It is noteworthy that the religious literature written in the island itself for

the benefit of the slaves was composed by clergy who were Barbadians by birth, and that these were the men who distinguished themselves by their efforts for the conversion of the slaves. The work of Bishop Coleridge is considered in the next chapter, but among the Barbadian clergy who were not island-born there seems to have been only one particularly outstanding figure. This was Edward Eliot, first archdeacon of Barbados, who repeatedly urged upon the island's whites the duty of Christianizing their slaves. This earned him a measure of official approval - one of his sermons was printed at the request of the St. Michael's Vestry - but also brought him threats of physical violence. The archdeacon's sermons stress that the conversion of the slaves will be of benefit to their masters; there are only occasional passages addressed to the slaves themselves, and these emphasise the duty of obedience. Eliot seems to have been regarded by at least some of the non-white members of the community as their friend; the American abolitionists Thome and Kimball were favourably impressed by him on their visit to Barbados in 1837, and on his retirement to England later the same year Eliot received an address, £100 sterling, and a piece of plate "presented as a memorial of respect, gratitude, and affection ... by the Coloured and Black population of the Island of Barbados."⁸³

As early as the 1750s there were some non-whites in Barbados who could be regarded as models of Christian piety,⁸⁴ and in 1789 Dickson stated that "Several free negroes and some slaves regularly attend divine service" at St. Michael's,⁸⁵ so it is clear that William Duke and his successors had some foundation on which to

build. Others of whom we know little or nothing in this respect, such as the Rev. George Forster Maynard,⁸⁶ must have worked in the same cause, and whilst they were not necessarily representative of the Anglican clergy as a whole, they prove false the conventional assumption that that body was indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the majority of the population around them. Whilst one might wish that they had not so easily convinced themselves that slavery was divinely sanctioned, it is hardly likely that they would have done otherwise in view of their position as slave-owners and land-owners. Yet it was this position which gave them a standing in Barbadian society and an independence which was not shared by their English-born colleagues (such as Turner, the Conversion Society's missionary) who seem to have been much more likely to give way to planter prejudices, and it was this which enabled them to reject publicly the belief cherished by so many other white Barbadians, that slaves had no souls to be saved. Undoubtedly they would have endorsed the statement made by Thomas Parry, when archdeacon of Antigua, that Christianity provided "a far more powerful principle of control, than slavery had been able to supply,"⁸⁷ and, masters themselves, the idea of Christianity as a means of social control would have appealed to them for its own sake, as well as as a means of overcoming the prejudices of other masters. This does not mean that their concern for the conversion of their own and other people's slaves was hypocritical. The prejudices of Barbadian whites were so firmly entrenched that the social position of even planter clergymen offered them only limited protection. Dickson recorded that he had heard a poor white affirming that a man who preached

to slaves ought to be hanged;⁸⁸ the fate of Shrewsbury, the Methodist missionary expelled in 1823, showed no diminution in the strength of this attitude, and the experiences of Harte and Eliot demonstrate that being a clergyman of the established church made little difference, in spite of the alleged affection of Barbadians for that body. The strength of the opposition to the Christianization of slaves indicates that it was not an undertaking lightly embarked upon - any clergyman who persisted with it, even if he believed that God permitted him to own a slave, must also have convinced himself that that slave really was his equal in the sight of God.

Whilst Harte, Pinder and Eliot had the example of many others to draw upon, the possible influences upon Duke and Holder are more limited. They began before Bishop Porteus attempted to persuade the West Indian clergy that the slaves formed part of their parishes, and before there were any Methodist or Baptist missions in the West Indies. The example of the Moravians and of James Ramsay's Essay will have had their effect, but if the Dean of Middleham could so far overcome the prejudices of his Barbadian upbringing as to become the author of an influential plea for the abolition of the slave-trade,⁸⁹ it is at least possible that Duke and Holder needed no other motivation than that provided by the command that they should "preach the gospel to every creature."

The slaves who listened to Duke in St. Thomas's Church, and those who attended Harte's lectures have left us no record of their feelings and reactions. Although we can see in considerable detail the form which was given to the

Christian message in Barbados in the half-century before Emancipation, comparatively little can be said about the response of those to whom it was directed. By 1834 enormous numbers of slaves had become Christians in name; the proportion of more than nominal conversions, and the fervour of individual converts, are matters which it is beyond the historian's competence to assess. Nevertheless, it is difficult not to believe that many were moved and comforted by the assurances which they were offered!

The poorest slave, who loves and fears his God, who believes and has been baptized in Christ, and studies to do as Christ says, and who walks his humble round of duty without murmuring and complaining, is in the road to salvation, to honour and glory with his Saviour, though he digs with his hoe all the day long and lies down at night on his humble bed and under his lowly roof. If his life shew forth the fruits of the Holy Ghost, if his heart be made clean, and his thoughts are full of religious and good things, he will be owned by his Saviour, and angels will welcome him into paradise.⁹⁰

CHAPTER FOUR

"Amongst unprincipled Planters and ignorant negroes";
the Church in the Diocese of Barbados, 1824-73.

In August 1823 an association was formed in Barbados "for the dissemination of Christianity on a wider and more united plan, than any hitherto attempted." This included all the island's clergy, and also the "principal planters and attorneys," but it appears to have been short-lived.¹

In May of the same year however, the House of Commons had accepted Canning's resolutions stating that it was "expedient to adopt effectual, and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies."² Anglican evangelization of the West Indies was to benefit, since, "under the full persuasion that religious Instruction is the surest foundation for the melioration of the state of the slave population, and that such instruction will be most salutarily communicated if placed under Episcopal control,"³ the British government finally created two sees in the region. The largest and most populous of the British islands received a bishop almost to itself, though the diocese of Jamaica also included the Bahamas and British Honduras. The "Bishopric of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands" included "the Islands of

Barbadoes, Grenada, Saint Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, and Montserrat, Saint Christopher, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, Trinidad, Tobago, and Saint Lucie <sic> and their respective dependencies."⁴ In 1826 the "Colonies and Settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, and their Dependencies" were added,⁵ and the Bishop was occasionally obliged to concern himself with the spiritual well-being of Anglicans in non-British territories such as Venezuela.⁶ Apart from sums contributed for church building and educational purposes, an Imperial Grant of £20,000 for the support of bishops and clergy in the West Indies was made each year until 1868, when, with allowance for vested interests, it was withdrawn. During this period the grant remained at the same figure without regard to the increase in the number of bishops and clergy. Following the retirement of the first bishop of Barbados in 1842, for example, the formation of new dioceses of Antigua and Guiana reduced that of Barbados to the islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Grenada, Tobago, and their respective dependencies.⁷ The withdrawal of the Imperial Grant, and the attendant circumstances described in the next chapter, left the diocese consisting of the island of Barbados alone.

This was a period of great importance in West Indian history. The folly of attempts to "ameliorate" slavery soon became apparent, and anti-slavery agitation in Britain combined with fears produced by the slave rebellion in Jamaica in 1831-2 led to the passage of the Emancipation Act.⁸ This came into effect 1 August 1834, but was succeeded in nearly all the islands, including Barbados, by the

Apprenticeship, a system of half-slavery almost universally condemned, which was brought to an end in 1838, two years earlier than originally intended.⁹ This was soon followed by the equalization of the sugar duties over the period 1846-54, which deprived the West Indian planter of his fiscal advantage!

Great was the boon to the highly taxed home population, diminishing as it did the price of sugar nearly one half; but as regards our colonies the measure unquestionably produced much immediate distress, and was in too many instances ruinous in its consequences.¹⁰

The British government agreed to compensate the planters with cheap labour, by lending support to the importation into the West Indies of indentured immigrants, principally from India, a practice which was to transform both Guiana and Trinidad.¹¹ To natural disasters such as the cholera epidemics which swept the region in the 1850s were added social and political upheavals: the tragic events of the Morant Bay rising and its suppression in 1865, the change to Crown Colony government in Jamaica, the tightening of London's control over the smaller islands, and the Confederation Riots in Barbados.¹²

The most significant feature of these years in Barbados was the steady increase in population (Table 1). This continued in spite of the death of at least 20,000 during the cholera epidemic which struck the island in 1854, and in spite of a high rate of emigration, estimated as having caused a similar loss in the decade

1861-71,¹³ In an island where, as one commentator put it in 1838,

almost the entire surface is subjected to high cultivation, where there exists no back-country to which the idle may retire ... where the labouring classes have no provision grounds independent of the estate, to the cultivation of which both they and their masters must look for their means of existence

there was no "flight from the estates" such as occurred in other colonies, and no shortage of labour for the planters at whatever price they cared to pay for it. Barbados was precisely the sort of "Black Ireland" Carlyle claimed he had no wish to see, but hunger was the most effective means of enforcing his notorious principle that the black man had a "right to be compelled" to work for the "real proprietors" of the land, those "heroic white men, worthy to be called old Saxons" whom he so idolized.¹⁴ Agricultural labour and domestic service were the most important categories of occupation (Table 2), and the power which the pressure of population put into the hands of the employer was reinforced by the authority of the law. "An Act to regulate the Hiring of Servants and to provide for the recovery and security of their Wages," passed in 1840, stipulated that those "employed as artificers, as manufacturers of the staple commodities of this Island, as labourers, husbandry servants, or as domestics," or, even more comprehensively, in any "other occupation in which the emancipated population of this island were usually employed while in a state of slavery, or as apprenticed labourers," had to have a

verbal or written contract made in the island. Such contracts were enforceable before a Police Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, who was inevitably a member of the employer class, and a "master, mistress or employer" found guilty of breach of contract was liable at most to a monetary penalty. The employee faced the possibility not only of loss of his or her job (with consequent loss of abode, if a "tenancy incident to service", which usually it was) and a fine, but also of imprisonment with or without hard labour for up to fourteen days. The main provisions of this Act remained in force for nearly a century.¹⁵ Nineteen years after the end of the Apprenticeship, one writer could still refer to the "present owners" of the emancipated labourers.¹⁶ Even if a slip of the pen, it is a revealing one.

It was hardly surprising that visitors and white Barbadians should find cruel amusement in overhearing two poor blacks address each other as "gentleman" and "lady", for this attempt to maintain human dignity would have been harshly contradicted by the circumstances of the speakers' everyday life.¹⁷ The fact that it remained just possible to grow sugar at a profit in Barbados was due not to the adoption of improved methods of cultivation or manufacture by the planters, but to the exploitation of their labour force, men, women and children, who in estate tenancies and "negro yards" lived in conditions which were possibly, in material terms, worse than those of the slavery period. At a time when some could talk of the return of better days, one upper-class Barbadian observer felt confident

that many of us, who live close to our negro-yards, would stand aghast if we knew what was being perpetrated and enacted within a stone's-throw of our own habitation. The melancholy circumstance is, that we do not know, and that many of us, alas! take no pains to know ...¹⁸

Who has ever entered one of those wretched hovels, those almost loathsome scenes of human existence, without being shocked at the misery and extreme degradation in every corner of the dwelling? In a wooden hut, not twenty feet by ten, with the bare, unlevelled earth for a flooring, you not uncommonly find families of eight, ten, twelve in number, of every age and sex, crowded and herding together more like the beasts that perish than members of a Christian household.¹⁹

His comments were borne out by those of other writers, and statistics which became available later in the century show the extent to which dwellings such as he described existed (Table 3).²⁰ Before Emancipation an obligation to care for the sick and aged among the slaves, however imperfectly fulfilled, was recognised by the planters. Afterwards it was felt that "In consequence of the recent changes in our Social System, individuals are in a great degree relieved of the responsibility which formerly devolved upon them" in this respect, and it was proposed to erect a General Hospital as "a receptacle ... for the destitute portion of the Community."²¹ The hospital was opened to patients in 1844, having been built mainly by private contributions, with some assistance from the Island Treasury, and a legislative grant was provided for its maintenance, but this was "intended to aid and encourage, not to supersede, private exertions", and intermittent collections for

the benefit of the hospital were made in the churches and chapels.²² A limited provision was also made by the vestries of the individual parishes, but neither this nor what Schomburgk described as the "numerous charitable institutions" of the colony²³ were remotely adequate to meet the need which existed. An English clergyman who had lived in the island gave an example which he claimed was typical of "the tender mercies of the Barbadian rich towards the Barbadian poor":

In the rich parish of St. George the sum paid by the parish to an indigent white, and therefore favoured, widow, for the board, lodging, clothing, washing, and education of three presumptive orphans, is three shillings a month, or threePence a head per week; and for this wretched pittance they have to walk several miles, and are often detained for hours at the vestry before payment is made. And these miserable, stunted children have no other means of subsistence whatsoever.²⁴

In England an Association of Non-Resident Proprietors interested itself in the welfare of those who laboured on their Barbadian estates, and in the island itself some of the planters unquestionably possessed a social conscience. A few formed themselves into an "Association for improving the Social & Moral Condition of The Labouring Population", but this met with strenuous opposition from other members of their class, and appears to have lasted less than two years.²⁵

This general repugnance on the part of the planters towards anything for the benefit of their labourers was based not only on a narrow view of their own self-interest, but also on that racial prejudice which formed one of the most

unchanging features of Barbadian life. In 1859 Sewell observed that "The distinctions of caste are more strictly observed in Barbados than in any other British West India colony. No person, male or female, with the slightest taint of African blood, is admitted to white society."²⁶ Ten years later a clergyman claimed to have shocked a Barbadian-born official whom he met at a Government House dinner when he "propounded the view that in God's sight a black man's soul was as valuable as his own", whilst in 1879 two visiting royal princes, not entirely free of the notion that the world was intended to be ruled by white Englishmen, found something strange about a Government House ball!

to-night there was not one black face in all the rooms, and we wondered where all the English came from. Black men and women everywhere all day, white men and women only to be seen at night.²⁷

Nor was white prejudice confined to a refusal to meet non-whites socially, for both visitors and local observers noted the habitual use by whites of insulting language about blacks in and out of the hearing of their black servants.²⁸

The established Church thus faced grave social problems which required attention at least as much as those questions of ritualism and "Romanising views" to which a great deal of energy was devoted.²⁹ In the attempt to cope with these difficulties, a considerable increase was made in clergy and church-room during the

nineteenth century (Table 4). This, and the efforts made in the first decade of the resident episcopate had, at least in appearance, the desired effect. In a charge delivered just before Emancipation, Bishop Coleridge gave a favourable picture:

... large numbers of adults are under preparation for baptism - though it must not be concealed ... that a very considerable portion of the slave population remain still unbaptized ... there is an increasing thirst after religious instruction among the slaves, and a less repugnance on the part of the master to allow it.³⁰

Even in 1840 some remained unbaptised,³¹ but by 1871, when the census first included religious statistics, virtually the whole population was Christian at least in name. The Church of England was by far the largest denomination, and in spite of a decline in both absolute and relative terms, maintains that position in the most recent available figures (Tables 5, 6).³² Some nineteenth-century observers wondered, however, if this actually meant anything:

The clergy may publish church and school statistics, which, I admit, go to show that scholars and churchmen multiply. But statistics on such subjects are not of much importance when they run counter to common every-day experience. To prove that the vicious put on a religious demeanour with their Sunday coat, and will listen patiently to a tedious, incomprehensible sermon, only makes the case worse.

Hurrell Froude, who in spite of strong racial prejudice was concerned by what he saw as the failure of the clergy to make any real impact on the slaves and

apprentices, complained

The great object ... seems to be to coax as many as they can to be baptized, and to marry, and to learn to read; and those who do are made much of at once, and everything is supposed to be right with them. Is not baptism, unless followed by an attempt at a Christian life, as great a curse as receiving the Lord's Body unworthily?³³

Bishop Coleridge seems to have been an incurable optimist, but in 1852 his successor stated that

... it is but too evident, I fear, that there has been of late, on the part of the peasantry, a great decay of religious feeling, or at least much less inclination to attend public worship than they were accustomed to exhibit before their emancipation, or for some few years after it.

He drew attention to the low figures for confirmations, "a very melancholy fact; implying as it does in most cases a degree of unconcern respecting religion which is truly lamentable", and, although the figures were in fact less marked than they were to be in later years (Table 7), to the high illegitimacy rate, which led him to "most strongly recommend" that a "public rebuke" be given by following "the practice, not uncommon, I believe, amongst us, of solemnizing the baptisms of children born in wedlock and those who are not so born at distinct times." Bishop Parry's call for more clergy and for greater efforts on the part of existing clergy was perhaps not without point, and he may have been right in supposing that the

peasant was ashamed to appear ill-clothed in a church which had lost its novelty for him, and attendance at which was no longer "associated in his mind with a desire of advancement in worldly respectability, which the emancipation had excited, but which gradually subsided, as the freedman became familiar with his new position."³⁴ Nevertheless this can only be a partial explanation.

Some difficulties would remain as long as the structure of society remained unchanged. For example, the Church, assisted by its missionary societies, by the British government's Negro Education Grant from 1833 to 1845, and from 1846 by a grant from the local legislature, maintained a large, though still very inadequate, number of schools in Barbados: in 1834 the total number of "Schools, in connection with the Church, for the Religious Instruction of the Poor" (which included day, evening and Sunday schools) was 155, with an aggregate attendance of 7,447 out of a population estimated at 101,298.³⁵ Even much later in the century the prevalence of child labour, encouraged by the poverty of parents and the policy of the planters, ensured that many children simply remained out of the Church's reach (Tables 8, 9, 10). Other problems can only be attributed to the Church's leadership, and to the stamp their policies gave the institution.

William Hart Coleridge, first bishop of Barbados, appears to have had no previous connection with the scene of his episcopal labours, though in 1814 he had refused "an offer to go out to Antigua as tutor to the sons of Sir James Leith, and

Rector of St. John's", and a number of articles on the West Indies and Barbados in particular had appeared in the Christian Remembrancer during his editorship. His distinguished Oxford career and his position as a joint secretary of the S.P.C.K. would have been recommendations, and he had influential friends. He records that when Lord Liverpool came to Fulham to consult with Bishop Howley on the appointments to be made to the new West Indian sees both Charles Lloyd (Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and later bishop of Oxford) and Blomfield (soon to be bishop of Chester) who were present spoke in his favour, as did Howley! "Above every other ... I am fully sensible that to the Bishop of London and his opinion of me I owe the high honor of this selection." He seems to have had little hesitation in accepting, though his mother was horrified at the thought of his going to live in a West Indian climate "amongst unprincipled Planters and ignorant negroes." He was consecrated at Lambeth with Christopher Lipscomb, first bishop of Jamaica, on 25 May 1824, and the two bishops set sail together later in the year, arriving in Barbados in January 1825.³⁶

Bishop Coleridge was a prolific writer, and appears to have kept the Christian Remembrancer well supplied with accounts of his doings and copies of laudatory addresses to himself.³⁷ A number of surveys of his career, by both contemporaries and more recent writers, are extremely favourable.³⁸ Nevertheless, he is certainly not beyond criticism. His extraordinary sense of his own importance led him to feel that the British and colonial governments ought to

disburse whatever funds he requested, believing for example that £15,000 should be spent on the purchase of Gibraltar House in Barbados (the present Bishop's Court) and the nearby Pine Estate, "for the enlargement of the Bishop's grounds, the removal of the negro dwellings belonging to that estate to a more distant spot, and providing a residence for the Archdeacon" - a proposal which enraged at least one member of the Barbados Council.³⁹ He seems to have considered that he should be allowed to spend as much as he liked on church building, and in the case of St. Mary's, Barbados, "had pledged his Majesty's Government without waiting for a reply from Earl Bathurst," the Colonial Secretary.⁴⁰ He filled the pages of his notebook with copies of the addresses he received, and noted approvingly of the Commander-in-Chief at Antigua, "His manners not too ceremonious, yet with a becoming attention to my rank." He advised his clergy "Be humble ... that you may be wise," but one contemporary complained about the "miserable littleness of soul" which led the Bishop to attach excessive importance to worldly dignity!

Do we not weep for poor human nature, when we hear that a bishop arriving in a port, and discovering that it was after the hour when military regulations sanctioned the firing of a salute, preferred to remain until the following morning on board, so that then (and that too on the Sabbath) his presence might be announced by the thunder of artillery; interrupting the religious ceremonies of the day, assembling together all the idle of the station, and needlessly and cruelly harassing the troops, who are compelled to march several miles under a tropical sun for the purpose of forming a guard of honour?⁴¹

His travels around his extensive diocese, leaving newly formed committees wherever he went, unquestionably displayed great energy, and although he knew the text "the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," he rivalled Blomfield as a builder of churches, many of them designed by himself.⁴² The provision of additional places of worship was justified by the argument that "To many families the distance of the parochial church acts as an effectual bar to the regular performance of their public duties as Christians,"⁴³ and allowance must be made for the rebuilding necessitated by the 1831 hurricane, but it is still possible to feel that since the goal was the effective christianization of the whole population, some at least of the large sums involved might have been better spent on additional clergy, catechists, or teachers. For example, £1,850 sterling, or just under half the annual average spent by the Church on building (not including schools) in Barbados alone during the period 1825-37, would have provided an additional seventy-four teachers at £25 per annum.⁴⁴

Coleridge retired to England in 1841, and although there was speculation that he might be succeeded by Samuel Wilberforce, then archdeacon of Surrey, the next bishop was Thomas Parry, first archdeacon of Antigua, and since 1837 archdeacon of Barbados, who was consecrated in 1842.⁴⁵ A former fellow of Balliol, Parry had published a number of sermons, the exposition of Philemon mentioned in the previous chapter, and two more ponderous biblical commentaries which display wide, if conventional, theological and classical learning.⁴⁶ An account of his early

life suggests a shy, reserved young man in poor health, and although his going to Oxford involved escaping from the solicitor's office in which his family had placed him, he does not appear to have been particularly decisive.⁴⁷ He showed a reluctance to face up to facts of which he was well aware, detailed complaints about the immorality and irreligion of the Barbadian population, for example, being followed almost immediately by his statement that "For some years past I have observed an apparently growing sense of character among our brethren of low degree, attributable in many cases, I would hope, to the influence of religion ..."⁴⁸ His judgement was sometimes questionable! whilst the eventually unsuccessful attempt by the Chief Justice and other prominent Barbadians to force the S.P.G. to abandon the theological nature of Codrington College and turn the trust into a scheme for providing local aspirants to secular professions with an English university education was undoubtedly a matter of importance to the Church, that Parry appeared not only "very much concerned" but "more ... than he has ever been about anything" suggests a strange sense of proportion.⁴⁹ He supported the two most important initiatives of his episcopate, the attempt to do something about the training of elementary school-teachers and the founding of the West Indian mission to West Africa, but both of these were the work of Richard Rawle, the principal of Codrington.⁵⁰

Although Parry was only in his forty-eighth year when he became bishop, in 1848 he was described as "in feeble health, and not equal to much business."⁵¹

Whether or not this was temporary, he was finally "ordered home by the doctor, arriving in England in March 1864." His resignation was actually announced in 1868, but was withdrawn, as he found it impossible to come to an arrangement with the British government about a pension, and he remained bishop of Barbados until his death in 1870.⁵¹ Left in charge as vicar general was his son Henry Hutton Parry, whom he had already appointed to the archdeaconry of Barbados in 1861, allowing him to retain at the same time, at least temporarily, the Garrison chaplaincy with its additional £100 a year, a piece of nepotism about which even the bishop had doubts!

Rev. H. H. Parry M A of Ball. Coll. Oxon collated to the Arcd^y
 this mean⁹ - "a fit & proper person" - I do not say the fittest
 that might have been chosen - can retain the Garrison
 Chaplaincy whilst nec^y 53

For a while the bishops of Guiana and Antigua helped out with the episcopal work, but in 1868 H. H. Parry was consecrated as coadjutor bishop. A fellow collegian described him as "a humble and a holy man," but opinions were mixed as to his suitability for the post.⁵⁴

Both Coleridge and Thomas Parry publicly committed themselves to the Church's working for the spiritual welfare of all!

Every soul is God's property; every soul in your parish must be your care. The soul of the master, and the soul of the slave, will equally be required at your hands.

All classes equally belong to Christ; all therefore equally have their claims upon His Church.⁵⁵

Coleridge abolished the "insidious distinctions" he found in Antigua between the conduct of funeral services for the different races, and staunchly supported Harte, whilst Parry, for example, singled out for special praise a clergyman who had recently "died universally lamented, and by none more than by the Poor, to whose wants both spiritual and temporal his attention was most exemplary."⁵⁶

Nevertheless both bishops were strongly conservative. Disturbed by his visit to the island of Barbuda, where he found the manager an intemperate drunkard, Coleridge noted privately "Here slavery appeared in its full horror," "Looking only ... to the question of bodily comfort", he felt that the slaves of a good master were better off than the English peasantry! "But they are not that peasantry - nor ever can be, till they are freemen." Yet he maintained, as Porteus had done, that a period of preparation was necessary, since "freedom must either be born with us, or preceded by religious and suitable instruction, and mental and moral improvement in the receiver or it will prove a bane to Master and Slave." This of course was why he had been appointed, and it is accordingly strange to find him noting elsewhere that whilst he was "equally anxious for the spiritual improvement of all classes", it was "for their spiritual improvement, not for their civil condition, with

which, as Bishop, I have nothing to do." Far from making any public adverse comment on slavery, he told the clergy that christianization of the slaves required the co-operation of the slave-owners, and whilst this might be explained as a necessary compromise with reality, in his 1830 primary charge he urged the clergy to act in defence of the status quo!

At the present moment of fearful political suspense, the Clergy are more especially called upon to preach by word and example the scriptural doctrine of submission to "every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." Existing ordinances may, in many cases, be open to improvement ... but whilst an ordinance legally exists, it is binding, and must be respected and obeyed. Let it not be forgotten, however, that change is not necessarily improvement, and experience still subscribes to the prudential maxim of the wise Solomon, "My son, fear God and honour the king; and meddle not with them that are given to change."⁵⁸

It is not surprising that after they had had five months' experience of him "85 of the leading Proprietors" in Barbados should have signed an address to Coleridge in which they stated that they entertained no doubt that "under your Lordship's discreet and judicious direction, the spiritual interests of the slave will be shewn to be not incompatible with the temporal interests of the master."⁵⁹ Thirteen years later his description of "the conduct of our African brethren", then approaching the end of the Apprenticeship, shows his continued concern for those temporal interests, which demanded that the labourers, though free, should remain "sensible of the obligations which they are under to labor for their masters":

They may not yet fully understand their position in the social scale; ... they may think that a state of freedom admits of more liberties than are consistent, as they will soon learn, with the various and continual demands of West Indian agriculture. But in a few months all the misapprehensions, unreasonable expectations, and even improprieties of conduct, assignable to the novelty of their situation ... will have passed away ...⁶⁰

The planters showed their gratitude in their private capacity by helping the Church to build chapel after chapel, believing, as Thomas Parry told them, that in so doing they were "throwing up, as it were, an embankment, to prevent the reflux of barbarism which the abuse of freedom by the ignorant might otherwise occasion."⁶¹ In the legislature they assumed the burden of supporting district curacies which had previously been paid for mainly from English sources, increased their number, and raised the stipends of the curates. "We cannot be too thankful, under God," said Bishop Parry, "to the sympathy and encouragement which the Legislature have so liberally extended to our ministerial labours; nor too diligent in endeavouring to prove to them, by the value of those labours to the well-being of the community, that their liberality has not been misplaced."⁶²

This was interpreted to mean endorsement of the existing social structure and the racism which this involved. Coleridge expressed concern about a school for poor whites where there was "no regard to ... proper subordination", took over the management of the main school for non-whites functioning at the time of his

arrival, "For the school was a powerful engine to be left wholly, as it really was, in the hands of a coloured committee", and when in 1825 he opened five new schools in Bridgetown for non-whites, placed them "under white Masters and Mistresses." His interest in new schools for Barbadian poor whites, a class he described as being "in a pitiable state of ignorance, vanity & vice, and all its consequent wretchedness", appears to have been motivated at least in part by a desire to preserve a hierarchy of races as well as of social classes!

If the coloured are daily advancing through the means of education, and the poor whites remain uninstructed there is no great foresight required as I have plainly told them, to predict the consequences.⁶³

Segregated education remained the norm in Barbados, Latrobe noting of St. Matthias's, "This is one of the very few schools in the island in which the children of a few white parents may be found intermixed with those of a darker class." Latrobe also found it "singular" that the well-endowed Christ Church parochial school for poor whites could not keep up the full number on the foundation, "though there is no shortage of poor white inhabitants in the parish":

The vestry, it is understood, is not disinclined to open it for the admittance of those of the coloured classes; but such is the peculiar state of feeling in the island, that there is reason to believe that such a measure would not be productive of the good designed, or perhaps be acceptable to the very class which it is intended to benefit ...⁶⁴

Far from doing anything about this "state of feeling", Bishop Parry's official pronouncements indicated support for an educational system which not merely failed to provide opportunities for social mobility but purposely taught children only what was considered necessary for their existing social position:

... some classes having obviously more time for the work than others, as well as occasion for different kinds of knowledge; that learning which to one would be a mere superfluity at best, if not a temptation to discontent and self-conceit, being (> under different circumstances, an almost indispensable preparation for the actual duties of life.

Rawle similarly talked of the need for an education that would rid the young Barbadian of the "conceit that he is too good for the hoe, and that industry has a suspicious relation to slavery." In a Barbadian context this attitude was hard to distinguish from that attributed to Parry by a critic who alleged the bishop had "once said that all coloured and black boys should only be taught to read and write, and the four first rules of arithmetic."⁶⁵

Within the walls of the churches themselves, racial distinctions continued to exist, as appears from Bishop Coleridge's injunction on the administration of the Holy Communion:

Suffer not the table of the universal Saviour to be for a moment without its uninterrupted succession of guests, whilst

any are in the Church waiting to receive. Any marked interval of time, after the elements have been administered to the Whites, before the administration is resumed for the Coloured communicants, is an irregularity which almost destroys the very nature of a communion; and can only tend to degrade, irritate and estrange one party, and keep up in the other an idea of personal importance inconsistent with that faith, which embraces within its comprehensive pale all the nations of the earth.⁶⁶

On Easter Sunday 1827 the Rev. W. M. Harte aroused the wrath of many of his white parishioners by his "disgraceful conduct" in having whites and non-whites at the communion table together, even though "the consecrated elements were administered in no instance to the coloured before the whites." Coleridge supported Harte, saying that "the same mode (of administering communion) has been pursued under my own eye at the cathedral, as most suitable to the nature and dignity of the sacrament, and to the spirit of the gospel, which knows no distinction in matters of grace."⁶⁷ It continued to be taken for granted that whites would receive communion first, and on Ascension Day 1870 a black member of the cathedral congregation was actually refused communion because she had come up with the whites.⁶⁸ As late as the 1940s an English-born colonial official serving in Barbados found that although the rector of the church he attended tried to stop the practice

Sunday after Sunday we saw a wild stampede by all the European communicants to the altar rails, leaving the coloured members of the congregation sitting at the back ...⁶⁹

It is worth quoting the recent comments of a Barbadian congregation, where one worshipper feels that "The church is steeped in colonialism ... Generally speaking we are out of step with the times ... On matters of colour we accept it as it is," though another feels that there has been real change!

The glory of the church is that in it we are all one. We all drink from the same chalice - Laurie Pile and me. Everyone drinks from the one cup and becomes one. We all go to the common rail and kneel.⁷⁰

Equally important were seating arrangements. Sturge and Harvey described St. Mary's, Barbados, in 1837, by saying

Though the Rector is free from prejudice himself, distinctions of color are still kept up in his congregation. Formerly black and colored persons were confined to the gallery; now they are allowed to occupy the pews in the lower half of the body of the church.⁷¹

At the cathedral non-whites appear to have been officially restricted to sitting in the galleries until 1870, when the rule was abandoned following an uproar which broke out when two coloured young men flouted it by sitting in the body of the church and refusing to move when requested to do so.⁷² Official segregation was reinforced by the system of pew-rents which existed in almost all Anglican churches and chapels.^{72a} Bishop Coleridge found that pews in the cathedral were

actually the freehold property of individual members of the congregation, and objected to this, but not to pew-rents, planning, for example, that "The Pastor of St. Mary's will be supported out of the Pew Rents."⁷³ The working of the system in the 1860s was described as follows:

Of course, the best seats in the best situated positions are those which in local phrase are "rented out," in order that the Pharisees may be enabled to "pray apart," but the poor are permitted to hear the "free Gospel" from wretched galleries and from the worst holes and corners in the churches ... Seats pertaining to persons in arrears of rent are not infrequently barricaded by the authorities, and the space is thus lost to the already too small buildings. In an instance known to the writer, where a chapel committee had run into debt, they calmly confiscated fifty-four of the few free seats belonging to the poor, and let them out for hire.

The clergy were said to be, with two exceptions, "ardent supporters" of the system which was also upheld by the law, which punished those who trespassed on rented pews with fines or imprisonment in default of payment. Pew-rents in Barbados continued well into the twentieth century, long after they had been generally abandoned in England.⁷⁴ In spite of occasional incidents arising from resentment of these arrangements, the system may have been quite effective in persuading the poor that the maintenance of worldly distinctions within the walls of the church was part of the natural order of things. In the 1940s, Austin Clarke records, his grandmother was in the habit of going into St. Matthias's for private prayer, but always stayed at the back, "for she knew her place even in an empty church",⁷⁵ and

even today there is a marked tendency for congregations to seat themselves by social class.

Racial factors were also important in the selection of the clergy of the diocese. In 1717, in a sermon before the S.P.G., Philip Bisse, bishop of Hereford, had said with reference to the Codrington bequest "The Christian Religion never took place effectually in any country ... until some of the natives were fitted to be ordained, and become duly qualified to propagate it themselves," and this was quoted approvingly by both Coleridge and Parry,⁷⁶ Coleridge also expressing the hope, after his reorganization of Codrington, that "at no distant day ... we may expect that this College will supply the Diocese with a body of native clergy."⁷⁷ However it seems clear that "native" was being used in its literal sense, and not as a euphemism for "non-white." In 1837 it was stated that "No colored student has yet been admitted within the walls of Codrington College", and while this was no longer so by the end of the 1850s, mainly as the result of the establishment of the Pinder Scholarships, the holders of these were intended to be ordained for mission work in West Africa rather than parochial duties in the West Indies. In 1857 The Barbadian, in its report of a sermon by a Jamaican-born missionary to Africa who had been a student at Codrington, noted that "It was the first time in Barbados that a black man ever appeared in the pulpit." By the end of the 1850s a few non-white clergy had been ordained to serve in the diocese of Barbados, but they were usually employed in the less remunerative parishes of the Windward

Islands. Very few served in Barbados! in 1861 there were two in the island, and towards the end of the decade only one. The first non-white rector, as distinct from curate, was not appointed in Barbados until 1884.⁷⁸

To some extent this was due to the prejudices of the laity, and perhaps not solely to those of the whites:

... while the planters actually condemn a black clergyman, however exemplary in character and respectable in attainments, the negroes feel themselves slighted whenever they have a shepherd of their own colour.⁷⁹

Though Bishop Parry could write in 1861 "... Black Missionaries all the rage in Eng^d,"⁸⁰ the Church itself unquestionably gave grounds for complaint in this respect, and not only in the West Indies. There was one year when Crockford's attempted to distinguish non-white clergy from their colleagues, though later it "abstained from the use of the word 'native' in the several entries, as our brethren, we are informed, object to being thus 'ticketed',"⁸¹ Ordinations of "natives" were looked upon as occasions for rejoicing,⁸² but it was thought necessary for the Rev. J. H. Duport, a coloured West Indian who was mainly responsible for the success achieved by the Pongas mission in West Africa, to have a white clergyman to superintend him.⁸³ It was possible for E. H. Beckles, a white Barbadian, to become bishop of Sierra Leone, but when in 1882 the writer of a letter to the Guardian suggested that it was time for that diocese to have a native

bishop, another correspondent claimed that this suggestion could not have come from anyone who knew what he was talking about.⁸⁴

As far as the diocese of Barbados was concerned, the editor of the Barbados Times declared "that Bishop Parry is said to have hated a dark skin with venom ... a fact acknowledged by everyone except a few lickspittles ..." ⁸⁵ but it may have been the case that class prejudices were understood as racial prejudices, an interpretation inevitable in Barbadian society, in spite of the existence of the poor whites. In other words, the paucity of non-whites in the ministry may simply have been a manifestation of what Hurrell Froude called the "gentleman heresy", the well-known bias of the Church in favour of university-educated upper-middle-class clergy, which lasted throughout the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Such a bias would favour white West Indians over non-whites, even without the operation of any specifically racial prejudice. Education at Codrington was as acceptable a qualification for an ordination candidate as an Oxbridge B.A., even though the course was often shorter, but this still cost a commoner "about fifty-five pounds sterling for the year" in mid-century, and whilst exhibitioners received tuition, rooms and commons free of cost to themselves, they were required to be of legitimate birth, and to show competence in Latin and Greek. The fourteen exhibitioners on the foundation in 1847 did include the son of a Barbadian carpenter, but also the son of a Trinidad planter, the son of a man who appears to have been a member of the Grenada Council, and a man who could afford to go on to take a degree at Trinity College,

Dublin. The only other two individuals demonstrably of humble birth - the sons of a baker and a butler - were both from England.⁸⁷

The Bishop's Court Papers in the Barbados Department of Archives include a large number of documents relating to nineteenth-century candidates for orders and to already ordained clergy entering the diocese from elsewhere.⁸⁸ The coverage is rather sparse for the episcopates of Coleridge and Mitchinson, but most, though not all, individuals in these categories during the period 1842-73 (when the diocese was administered by Bishops Thomas and H. H. Parry) appear to be included.⁸⁹ In the majority of cases an ordination candidate's baptismal certificate is present, and this often gives the father's "Quality, Trade or Profession", and testimonials normally make reference to the degree or academic affiliation of the candidate. The information available is summarised in the accompanying tables (Tables 11, 12a-c, 13a-c, 14).

The preponderance of Barbadians among the candidates born within the diocese is hardly surprising, in view of the fact that Barbados had much more of a middle and upper class than the other islands, with the possible exception of Trinidad, where those classes were mainly Roman Catholic. There seem to have been no candidates at all from St. Lucia, which was also mainly Roman Catholic. Nor is it strange that candidates with fathers of higher status (planter, clergyman, medical practitioner, esquire, gentleman, army officer, merchant) account for twenty-six of these fifty-nine candidates, and some of those whose father's

status is not ascertainable from their ordination papers would certainly fall into this category on more detailed biographical investigation - they include, for example, the future Bishop Beckles, who came from an old-established planter family. The four candidates born in West Indian territories outside the diocese are hardly enough for statistical comment, but those born outside the West Indies do present a different pattern. Out of the twenty-two, only six appear to have had high status fathers (clergyman, esquire, gentleman, army/navy officer, barrister, and the Madras Native Infantry captain), a much lower proportion than is the case among the West Indian candidates.

That a very high proportion of candidates born within the diocese and of those whose place of birth is not stated in their ordination papers (who are most likely to have been of local origin) should have been to Codrington is what one might expect. Only four out of seventy-seven possessed an English degree, as distinct from a qualification from a theological or missionary college. Of twenty-two candidates born outside the diocese, only five had an English or Irish degree. The proportion is much higher among already ordained clergy entering the diocese: twelve, or possibly seventeen, out of thirty-three.⁹⁰ Of the 136 who became clergy in the diocese, either by ordination, or migration from other dioceses, only twenty-two, or at most twenty-seven, appear to have had English or Irish degrees. This is a very much lower proportion than obtained in England, where clergy were still normally expected to have degrees, and bishops tended to

look with suspicion on candidates who had only been to a theological college, and it also compares unfavourably with the Barbadian clergy of the period 1780-1838.⁹¹ Even when every allowance is made for the fact that an Oxbridge degree did not necessarily indicate intellectual achievement, and for the increased importance of Codrington, the Barbadian clergy of the mid-nineteenth century would appear to have been much less distinguished than their predecessors. Other evidence points to the same conclusion: they published little or nothing, Rawle found them nearly all indifferent to his attempts at improving the educational system, and Chester's comments are vitriolic.⁹²

A number of difficulties were involved. In 1834 Hurrell Froude commented that "People here seem to have found out that the Church is a bad speculation, and send their sons into trade ..."⁹³ Bishop Parry complained more than once of the insufficient provision for the clergy in the islands other than Barbados:

... so long as we expect to get the greatest possible amount of work, & that too of a superior quality for the least possible amt. of remuneration, we must, I think, look for disappointment. Curacies so circumstan^d will in the natural course of things be the last to be supplied.⁹⁴

The shortage of candidates for orders was due in part to the fact that when the West Indian economies were depressed, few families could afford even a school education for their children, let alone one at Codrington or an English university.⁹⁵ Parry considered ordaining otherwise suitable men under age in order to fill vacant

positions, but the expense of the necessary faculties from the Archbishop of Canterbury presented an obstacle.⁹⁶ Yet in 1861 he turned away a young West Indian who wished to enter Codrington with a view to seeking orders!

At present he has no means; nor is he at all qualified by his attainm^{ts} having lost what little Scholarship he had (never much) ...⁹⁷

There seems to have been no question about the man's sincerity, as the bishop was willing to recommend him as a scripture reader and catechist, and the lack of means and "little Scholarship" need not have been insuperable obstacles. Elsewhere Parry defined the problem in these terms!

We suffer sometimes from the want of Candidates^{ates} altogether; at others (worse) from the want of fit Candi^{ates}
⁹⁸

Much hinges on the definition of "fit." A young man who had come out from Jersey in 1847 to offer himself was turned down because of the scantiness of his educational attainments, and given only an opening as a catechist, "with an indefinite prospect of admission to Deacon's orders at the end of two or three years - provided meanwhile he could qualify himself in Latin - and a still more indefinite hope of the Priesthood, for which Greek would be necessary."⁹⁹ Yet some candidates from outside the West Indies were sent to Codrington before

ordination, presumably because they were considered inadequately qualified otherwise. There might have been special reasons for recruiting some of the non-West-Indians - a Jerseyman's knowledge of French would have been useful in some of the islands, and the former Roman Catholic priest was probably thought good propaganda value - but that the shortfall in upper- and middle-class West Indians was made up by importing men not particularly distinguished by either birth or education does suggest that their main recommendation may have been the fact that they were white. For example, the Dean of Jersey praised the schoolmaster Thomas Beaugié for his piety, but stated that "Want of education is the greatest drawback to his fitness." He had studied some Latin with a clergyman in Jersey, but was ordained deacon after only nine months at Codrington and appointed to a curacy in Trinidad. The Rev. C. E. MacCleod, who had served in India, was recommended to Bishop Parry, but far from having any special linguistic skills which might have been useful among the indentured immigrants in Trinidad, he had left India because of his inability to learn Tamil. The Rev. D. J. Leguyer obtained a position in Barbados for the benefit of his health.¹⁰⁰

The desire for an educated clergy is understandable, but on the most favourable interpretation, Parry's complaints about the shortage of clergy and the Church's recruitment policies betray a failure to grasp the essence of the problem, which was seen by Hurrell Froude:

These colonies are not ripe for supporting a learned clergy; the wealthy are too irreligious to pay towards the maintenance of any thing like a sufficient number to look after the population. The Bishop should take people of the caste in life that the Wesleyan ministers come from, and taking care to keep a tight hand over them, should ordain all who have sufficient zeal and knowledge to undertake the burden. I will not even insist on their giving up their trades; for if a parish priest can keep a school, I am sure he may make shoes without giving up any more of his time ... The notion that a priest must be a gentleman is a stupid exclusive protestant fancy, and ought to be exploded. If they would educate a lower caste here, they would fill the college directly.¹⁰¹

Even with the best intentions, most of the clergy, whether white upper- and middle-class West Indians, or white Englishmen, would have suffered from the same problem which beset gentlemanly clergy in England, whose "status made them remote from the great majority of their parishioners." Bishop Parry's sincere desire to convert Indian immigrants in Trinidad would not have been helped by his regarding them as "if not savages, yet semi-barbarians at the best, being of the lowest classes in their own heathen Country, characterised by many heathen vices, and in particular by a disregard of truth and justice, and even of life itself." In Barbados the Church did not even have the excuse of ignorance for its failure to commemorate a date of the utmost significance for the majority of its members: the actual day of the end of the Apprenticeship (1 August 1838) was marked by special services of thanksgiving "for the happy termination of slavery", but in 1851 Rawle commented that the anniversary "is ignored except by the negroes themselves, who consequently are injured by feeling that they have a cause of joy in which their

superiors do not sympathise."¹⁰²

The clergy in Barbados were "unaccustomed and averse to united action", and received very little lay upper-class help.¹⁰³ The institution of scripture readers, which was tried on a not insignificant scale (Table 15) and which might have been quite effective, was handled with a stunning lack of imagination.¹⁰⁴ Some of the readers were simply candidates awaiting ordination, and it is also noticeable that the salaries could in some cases be very high.¹⁰⁵ Others were actually drawn from the class amongst whom they were intended to labour, but the readers were allowed little initiative, it being emphasised "that care be taken not to allow the Scripture-reading schools to lose their character, and become irregular prayer meetings." They were under the direction of the clergy, but it does not seem that any attempt was made to give proper training to those who needed it. Parry composed "a sample of the kind of Scripture Lesson and Exposition which I would recommend to my Reverend Brethren to prepare or provide for the use of their Scripture Readers", in which he used the change of seasons in a temperate climate to explain the Resurrection, a metaphor which would of course have been completely alien to most Barbadians.¹⁰⁶ As far as the readers drawn from the labouring class were concerned, Chester condemned them as "illiterate" and unsuited for their position!

To a printed question, addressed to them by the Bishop, and asking what character of service was used, one of them

answered, "The Nicene Creed, and the Service for the Visitation of the Sick!"¹⁰⁷

The criticism may well have been justified, for as late as 1909 one incumbent complained "My lay readers cannot sufficiently read", whilst others bemoaned the difficulty of finding "suitable" persons, but this was hardly the fault of the readers themselves, and clerical attitudes may have been a major part of the problem if those expressed by the vicar of All Saints were in any way representative:

We want the upper classes to take an interest (in) the above kind of work. The ordinary Blk! or Cold! man as a Reader or Catechist I have no confidence in. He wants to be Equal to the clergyman if not above, & must be kept in his place. This is my experience with such -¹⁰⁸

At the end of the Apprenticeship period, the Barbadian clergy were divided into a progressive and a reactionary group, the former, significantly, being known as "no bishop's men,"¹⁰⁹ Later they seem to have become a much more homogeneous body, and here change was certainly no improvement. The Church was supported by respectable pew-renters who elected gentlemanly fathers of bastards to chapel committees,¹¹⁰ but nevertheless enforced on the poor members of its friendly societies rules of conduct so strict as to ensure deference to employers as well as "good morals."¹¹¹ In some Barbadian parishes the offertory of the whole congregation was used for the sole purpose of keeping down the poor rates paid

only by the rich, and if on an occasion of widespread distress the clergy did hand out doles of food "to such persons only as should be known to be really destitute," they were cautioned to guard against "any abuse, to which such bounty might be liable in the hands of less worthy recipients."¹¹² In Barbados the poor attended the services of the established Church because in most areas they had a choice of that or nothing, but the Church did little to secure genuine commitment, and this little was not helped by its support for the status quo, which in effect amounted to a policy of "Let ill alone."¹¹³ How far the Church could have an influence on the same surroundings which constrained it, and what it could and could not achieve under the leadership of one who did not take the basic principles of Barbadian society for granted was shown by the episcopate of John Mitchinson.

CHAPTER FIVE

"The Toiler of the Sees"

the episcopate of John Mitchinson, 1873-81.

At the time of his consecration as third bishop of Barbados, 24 June 1873, John Mitchinson was still headmaster of the King's School, Canterbury, a position he had filled with distinction for fourteen years.¹ He had been chosen for the post by Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, to whom the choice of a new bishop had been delegated by the island's Bishops' Appointment Act, 1872. The British government's announcement in 1868 of its intention to withdraw the annual grant for the support of bishops and clergy in the West Indies, combined with a number of local measures enacted at the behest of the Colonial Office, had the effect of disestablishing and disendowing the Church of England throughout the region, except in one colony. In Barbados most of the clergy were paid by the local legislature, which maintained this provision without interruption. After the death of Bishop Thomas Parry in 1870 the diocese of Barbados was officially vacant, but it continued to be administered by his son, who was still in receipt of a stipend from the Imperial Grant as archdeacon of Barbados. By the act of 1872 the Barbadian legislature gave an additional salary to Bishop H. H. Parry so long as

he had charge of the diocese, and undertook to provide £1,000 a year on a permanent basis for a diocesan bishop (instead of the £2,500 p.a. received by Thomas Parry) without any assistance from the Imperial Government. The act naturally applied only to Barbados itself, but specifically allowed the new bishop to make his own arrangements with the other islands which had previously formed part of his diocese, and authorised him to be absent from Barbados for up to six months each year to perform his duties in those territories.²

The Church in Tobago began by formally requesting Mitchinson to be its bishop, and with the exception of Trinidad, which had become a separate diocese in 1871, the other islands followed, Mitchinson in each case receiving a supplemental commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury.³ Mitchinson undertook a protracted visitation of the islands each year, and found himself perpetually struggling to persuade the islanders that if they wanted a Church they would now have to pay for it. One island requested clergymen without any consideration of this, and Mitchinson later recalled:

I told them that I should send them no one till they had raised enough money to guarantee a sufficient income. They insisted that they could not do without their religion, and when I still refused, indulged in many and elaborate variations of the old negro's complaint: "It is Queen Victoria's Church, and she used to pay for it, and I don't see why she shouldn't pay for it any longer."⁴

The bishop remained adamant, and eventually the money was forthcoming.

Mitchinson believed that they who preached the Gospel should live of the Gospel, but he was neither unaware of the poverty of the larger part of his flock, nor demanding the impossible. He pointed out to the congregations of St. Vincent that if not more than one half of the professing Church members gave as little as a penny a week on average, this would still represent an annual income of £1,800!

But what is actually the case? Alas! brethren, the sum officially returned to us as raised for Church support during the past year, exclusive of offertories, is £270! "My brethren, these things ought not so to be."⁵

Mitchinson's personal initiative led to the formal creation in 1879 of a diocese of the Windward Islands as an independent voluntary society, but it is unlikely that this would have been possible without his willingness to act as its bishop with no addition to his Barbados salary. He started an endowment fund to pay the stipend of a separate bishop, but this did not reach an adequate level until 1927, before which each succeeding bishop of Barbados was also bishop of the sister diocese.⁶

Another addition to Mitchinson's duties arose in 1879 as a result of the illness and retirement to England of William Walrond Jackson, a Barbadian who had been bishop of the scattered and extensive diocese of Antigua and the Leeward Islands since 1860. Bishop Jackson was receiving £2,000 a year from the old Imperial Grant, and if he had resigned, this would have been lost to the disestablished diocese, and he himself left without a pension. Mitchinson

undertook to supervise the diocese of Antigua in exchange only for expenses actually incurred, though Jackson had been willing to give him £1,000 a year, and the Barbados legislature gave the arrangement their blessing. He remained coadjutor of Antigua until 1882, when C. J. Branch, a Barbadian clergyman, was consecrated coadjutor, and the result of Mitchinson's offer, which received high praise from the Barbadian press, as well as from Bishop Jackson, was that nearly half of Jackson's salary could be put by each year towards an endowment fund for his eventual successor.⁷

The burdens of two additional dioceses were as nothing to the problems which Mitchinson experienced in Barbados itself. He was unable to do more than make minor adjustments to the pew-rents system, and the diocese continued to be affected by problems of ritual. In his primary charge Mitchinson pressed upon the clergy, not a rigid uniformity, but agreement to keep "within certain broad limits", but even this was difficult to achieve. When in 1876 the curate of St. Leonard's ventured to put his choir into surplices, this became a running joke in one of the local newspapers, and the bishop's own churchmanship came in for attack, his "peculiar and rather un-Protestant views in regard to Clerical Celibacy" leading the Agricultural Reporter to refer to the "Papistical Dogmas" of "this Protestant Monk." This was in spite of the fact that Mitchinson had early expressed his disapproval of "doctrines and practices as questionable as they are novel, the only charm of which appears to be that they are Roman and not Anglican." However

these were among the least of the difficulties which made his episcopate anything but the "easy post of honourable retirement" which it had been called - one hopes with deliberate facetiousness - by one of his Oxford friends.⁸

In spite of the protestations of the Agricultural Reporter, which maintained that it was only as a result of the malice and incompetence of Governor Hennessy that "an extinct feeling of animosity had been revived between the two races which constitute our population", Barbados remained an oligarchy founded upon colour prejudice. Upper-class Barbadians were proud of the fact that the island had been a parliamentary democracy since the reign of Charles I, but the alleged democracy was representative of only a minute fraction of the population! the parish of St. Andrew, for example, had 7,572 inhabitants, of whom 52 were freeholders and 650 were householders paying direct taxes, yet there were only 24 registered voters to return the parish's two members to the legislature. This situation, according to Hennessy, made the House of Assembly "a small group of narrow-minded men", and it reflected the continuing exploitative nature of plantation agriculture. The Poor Relief Commission reported in 1877 that "the ordinary maximum daily wage of the estate-labourer may be stated at 1s. for men and 10d. for women; that for children ranges from 4d. to 6d. a day." The commission thought that these rates were low but adequate, provided work was available - an important qualification, for wages were kept low by the tremendous overpopulation and the fact that with nearly all land remaining in the hands of the planters, peasant proprietorship continued to be

rare, so that there was considerable underemployment. It was claimed that the Barbadian was too attached to his native land to wish to leave it, but in fact there was considerable emigration, in spite of the limited facilities available.⁹

As far as the island's Anglicanism was concerned, Mitchinson held, with some justification, that with most people, "their attachment to the Church is not the result of conviction, but of traditional sentiment." Although a newspaper editor could consider 400 people at a missionary lecture a small attendance to be blamed on bad weather, it was difficult to maintain that Christian profession was widely treated with deep sincerity when a return from twenty-eight out of forty church districts showed that in 1873 there had been a total of 2,302 illegitimate children baptised, and only 1,611 legitimate, and when many clergy, presumably in agreement with the late Bishop Parry, thought it necessary to refuse to baptise illegitimate children, "or, if they admit, mark by their mode of administration of the sacrament to the infant, their sense of the wrong done by the parents", both practices of which Mitchinson disapproved.¹⁰

Mitchinson had arrived in Barbados on Sunday, 10 August 1873, and attended service in the cathedral the same evening. He soon had personal acquaintance with social contrasts, for though the grounds of Bishop's Court connected with those of Government House, the Sunday after his arrival he was in a negro hut on the glebe, attending a poor man dying of consumption. A burglary he suffered left him in some doubt as to the honesty of his diocese, but first impressions were generally

favourable!

We have been very kindly received by all kinds of people. The coloured folk are enthusiastically civil ... The white population, i.e. the gentry, planters, and merchants, strike me as well-bred, polished people, disposed to be friendly.¹¹

He soon came to realise, however, that all was not as it might have been, and since, as he later recalled, "I was obsessed with the idea that I was come to be a reformer, and as such claimed to speak freely on all subjects",¹² he did not take long to make himself unpopular. He attributed the beginning of this to his primary charge, delivered 5 March 1874. In this he complained of a great many things, from the prevalence of immorality to the ostentatious dress of confirmation candidates, but two of his criticisms seem to have been found particularly galling. He stated that

... the Press here does not act as an educator of the people; nor does it exercise a beneficial or elevating influence upon society. One section of it ... cannot but supply an unwholesome pabulum for the unformed minds of our lower-middle and lower classes to feed on.

This was mild in comparison with other comments on West Indian journalism made both earlier and later in the century, but it was enough to ensure Mitchinson almost exclusively unfavourable coverage for the remainder of his episcopate.¹³

He also complained of the standard of church music in the island. He was not

the first to do so, for Chester had lamented that

Though the negroes are passionately fond of music, there is not a choral service in the island, nor a single choir properly dressed, trained, and located. Where greater pretensions exist than usual, the young (white) ladies and young (white) gentlemen of the congregation are perched up in a western gallery ... and display that usual amount of winking, smirking, and flirting which is incident to "mixed choirs."¹⁴

Little had changed in the interval, and Mitchinson remarked that he did not see

... how we are ever to render our singing more hearty and congregational, or anything but a performance, while we have our choir composed solely of the élite of the congregation, and grouped round the organ in the west gallery.¹⁵

Change was comparatively easy to effect, at least at St. Michael's, for when he made clear his opinion of "the spasmodic jets of singing, which came from the western gallery of the Cathedral ... the entire choir resigned, and to add to the assumed indignity the Bishop immediately installed a class, composed of black and coloured boys ..."¹⁶ He later recalled he

... was told that any attempt to drill negroes in choral worship was absolutely futile. He refused to believe it. He undertook the work of training the choir himself! he taught them and trained them two evenings a week, and the result was not only that he had a good choral service, but a service which was eminently congregational, for the vast congregation would render some well-known hymn, or chant, or chant service, with

a heartiness that was simply inspiring.¹⁷

He thus laid the foundations for the very high musical standards which the cathedral enjoys today, but in the process offended an influential section of the white population. One commentator claimed that the new choir was his "principal offence" in the eyes of the press, and when Mitchinson was to leave for the 1878 Lambeth Conference the choir were afraid that in his absence the white-dominated vestry would refuse to vote their expenses.¹⁸

The bishop gave further offence at the beginning of 1876. Hoping to transform an inadequately attended theological training centre into a university college for the entire English-speaking West Indies, he arranged for the affiliation of Codrington to the University of Durham. To celebrate this, honorary Durham M.A.s were conferred upon several clergy of the diocese who had been educated at Codrington. The ceremony took place in the Council Chamber in the Public Buildings in the presence of Governor Hennessy and "some two or three hundred ladies and gentlemen" who included virtually every person of influence in Barbados, and "many Graduates of the English Universities, and former students of Codrington College." Mitchinson presided, and having conferred the degrees, made a speech in which he was reported to have referred to

... the state of education amongst the higher class in Barbados, which was anything but satisfactory. The absence of culture, of literature and a taste for art and science was to

be deplored. It exhibited itself in an odious self-complacency and narrow prejudices, the offspring of besotted ignorance.¹⁹

The report was perhaps not absolutely accurate,²⁰ but it is clear that the speech was not a tactful one, and it was made to appear even less so by the governor's, which followed it, and was so flattering as to be suspected even by Barbadians of insincerity. Mitchinson also gave a new twist to a long-established complaint when, in the same discourse

he compared Barbadians generally to the white snails of Hans Christian Anderson, who, living under burdock leaves upon which the rain-drops pattered, flattered themselves that the world consisted of white snails and that they were the world.²¹

Two local newspapers felt obliged to admit that the bishop's censures were not entirely unjust,²² but the "white snails" were to be remembered against him for a long time. Even so, Mitchinson might have escaped comparatively lightly had he not made the further mistake of alluding to the great question of the day in local politics and given the impression that he was in favour of Confederation.²³

It is not necessary here to give a detailed analysis of the "Confederation Question", which has been well done elsewhere,²⁴ but it should be noted that the British government had for some years reduced the degree of autonomy enjoyed by several of the West Indian colonies, the most spectacular example being the way in which the Jamaican legislature was persuaded to vote itself out of existence

following the Morant Bay rising. The Assemblies of the smaller colonies were pruned, and the proportion of nominated members increased, while islands were grouped together, partly as an economy measure, and partly as a means of increasing Colonial Office control. Governor Hennessy, who arrived in Barbados in 1875 and soon made himself obnoxious to the planters by his criticisms of the island's institutions, endeavoured to persuade the House of Assembly to accept "Six Points" which would have made running the West Indian colonies a little easier from the Colonial Office's point of view. The "Six Points" were very mild - e.g. the suggestion that the Auditor-General of Barbados should also be Auditor-General of the Windwards, or that the Barbados Lazaretto should accept as patients lepers from the other islands - but many Barbadians believed that they could have only one possible result: the absorption of Barbados into a confederation of several colonies, with the consequent loss of her much-prized independence in local affairs and the draining of her treasury for the benefit of her impoverished neighbours.

The bishop was known to be a friend of Governor Hennessy, and of Sir Graham Briggs, a Barbadian baronet who was the leader of the minority of locals who supported Confederation. He was thus held to favour Confederation himself, and abused accordingly. The "white snails" speech was attacked in the House of Assembly by a Member who explained that only his sense of his own dignity had prevented his hissing the bishop. A long article in the Agricultural Reporter accused Mitchinson of vanity and pettiness, and in this and other issues of the

same paper the bishop was attacked in both the editorial columns and the letters.²⁵ This was in spite of the fact that the editor and part-owner of the Agricultural Reporter was the Rev. Preston Bruce Austin, an Anglican clergyman and one of Mitchinson's colleagues on the Education and Poor Relief Commissions.

It was not only the Reporter, the recognised organ of the planters, which was opposed to Confederation. The Barbados Times, owned and edited by members of the coloured middle class, appeared to agree with one of its correspondents, who urged that black and coloured people should oppose Confederation, as, although they suffered under a repressive oligarchy, it was at least a local oligarchy, and the past pronouncements of the Colonial Office showed that things would be no better, and might indeed be worse, under direct British rule, which he assumed would be the result of Confederation!

We take it for granted, we are not represented, our interest
(sic) are overlooked now. We will be less represented then.²⁶

This seems to have been the general attitude of most coloured, as distinct from black, Barbadians, and it was Conrad Reeves, a coloured politician, who saved the ancient constitution by resigning the Solicitor-Generalship and throwing in his weight with the anti-Confederation party (a decision which enabled him a few years later to persuade his white colleagues in the House of Assembly to agree to a number of comparatively minor concessions on the franchise)!

He maintained that it was the clear duty and obvious interest likewise of the black classes to repudiate the benevolent pretensions towards them put forward by those who countenanced and supported the new policy of the Colonial Office. The black classes did not want to be petted and protected in the sense mentioned. They could take care of themselves ...²⁷

Accordingly The Times, which had never been overfavourable to Mitchinson, supported the attacks made on the "white snails" speech, for example by printing a letter suggesting that the bishop was in favour of Confederation because it would be easier for him to get money for his proposed new cathedral from a nominated Assembly than from an elected one.²⁸ One editorial, after an initial paragraph accusing Anglican prelates in general of illiberal sympathies, went on to attack Mitchinson for admonishing one of his clergy for taking the chair at an anti-Confederation meeting, on the grounds that this could only be the action of an opponent of liberty and an advocate of Confederation.²⁹

The majority of black Barbadians, who made up the bulk of the labouring population, had no very clear idea of what Confederation meant, but they knew it was the policy of Governor Hennessy, whom they believed to be their friend, as a result of his attacks on such things as abuses of the prison system, and they knew that Confederation was opposed by the planters. Rioting broke out in the country districts on Easter Tuesday, 18 April 1876, and disturbances continued for about a week. The rioters shouted slogans such as "God bless Pope Hennessy" and "This is

John Pope Hennessy's business", thus presenting

the strange and probably unprecedented spectacle of a large class of the population in a British colony turning out in immense gangs to plunder and riot believing that they had the sanction and were fulfilling the wishes of the representative of the Queen.³⁰

There was considerable damage to property, and order was restored with some loss of life, eight people being killed and something over thirty wounded. However, with the exception of the Inspector of Police, who suffered a flesh wound, no white person came to any physical harm, and only panic and prejudice enabled the planters to compare the disturbances to those which had taken place at Morant Bay.³¹

According to Mitchinson's later recollections, the governor came to him to ask "What am I to do now?" and it was the bishop who persuaded him to issue a proclamation "sufficiently drastic to make the negroes understand that the Governor was not their abettor", although Hennessy had wanted to tone it down.³² In their histories of the crisis, neither Clarke nor Hamilton mention Mitchinson in this context, although a contemporary newspaper suspected there was rather more to the bishop's involvement than appeared from the letters between him and the governor which were printed in the West Indian of 28 April.³³ The publication of this correspondence, in which the governor specifically asked for the bishop's help in quieting the minds of the peasantry, was designed to explain the issue of

Mitchinson's Pastoral Letter from the Bishop to the Labouring People of Barbados. This was printed and distributed in large quantities throughout the island, and urged the people not to listen to those who tried to deceive them by misrepresenting the governor's wishes. The bishop also announced that he would make himself available to any planter who wished him to come and talk to his labourers and "endeavour by word of mouth to convince them of their error." It is not clear whether any planter took up the offer, or what effect the Pastoral Letter had. The West Indian described it as "a forcible exhortation" and bracketed it with Hennessy's proclamation in saying that "In consequence of these steps the disturbances have ceased during the last week ..." Nevertheless Hamilton does not mention the Letter, while Clarke makes no assessment of its influence, and the rest of the contemporary press was not as favourable as the West Indian. The Agricultural Reporter called it "as fine a specimen as ever was seen of shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen ... a cheap sort of thing ... a sort of ecclesiastical plaister to heal all bruises ...", implying that it would never have been necessary if the bishop had opposed Confederation from the start. This judgement was echoed by the Saturday Review, which also took the Reporter's reference to "a few cant phrases about 'children in God'" a step further by printing an elaborate and unpleasant joke about the bishop's "black fambily" <sic>.³⁴

With or without Mitchinson's help, the situation in the island gradually quietened down, and at the end of the year Hennessy left under a final shower of

journalistic abuse, to spend an equally stormy period as governor of Hong Kong.

Deprived of its usual target, the Barbadian press increased its attacks on the bishop. His handling, as visitor, of a complaint concerning the management of the Lodge School was criticised, and one paper chose to mock the "Cathedral Scheme" by printing a cartoon of Mitchinson in shirtsleeves, with his coat and episcopal top-hat on the ground beside him, attempting to pull down St. Michael's by hauling on a rope round the tower. The caption was "It's old enough and ugly enough, but I'm d----d if I can get it down,"³⁵ For nearly two years Mitchinson had persisted, in the face of considerable opposition, with his plan to replace St. Michael's with a large and handsome cathedral. This can only be described as an aberration, and it is not surprising it failed for lack of subscriptions. It was important not so much for itself as for the opportunities it gave for accusations that the bishop was a hypocrite more interested in his own vanity than in the plight of the poor, and these in turn were made part of a direct charge of racism, a theme which was to be repeated with variations.³⁶

Two speeches made by Mitchinson while he was in England for the 1878 Lambeth Conference, and reported in the English church papers, gave great offence in Barbados when their contents became known there, by reason of the criticisms they made of West Indian morality and ways of life.³⁷ It was alleged that while his remarks were unjust to all sections of society, they were particularly insulting to the labouring classes: "Though their skins are dark, they themselves are not so

black as he paints them,"³⁸ However, whilst a few years earlier the Mission Field claimed that in the West Indies, "as elsewhere, negro populations are more difficult even than men of other races to keep within the restraints of the moral law",³⁹ Mitchinson was, as the West Indian admitted, "indiscriminate in his censures." In the speech reported in the Church Times, he criticised Barbados for having "an essentially impure-minded population ... (both white and black)." Elsewhere he argued that the impossibility of dealing with black immorality by the restoration of what he thought of as a proper system of church discipline was due to "the evil and impure lives of so many of our upper and middle class white population of the West Indies" and that white immorality was often worse than black immorality,⁴⁰ which suggests that his criticisms were founded, not upon assumptions about racial characteristics, but upon a dislike of concealing truths which, though unpleasant, were glaringly obvious. The bishop was able to repeat his criticisms after his return to Barbados in a more tactful manner, though without lessening their force, by direct quotation from the reports of half a dozen of the local clergy,⁴¹ and they were by no means new when he made them. For example, the Rev. P. B. Austin, never one of Mitchinson's staunchest supporters, had once stated in an assize sermon that the "vices of the lower classes had penetrated to them from the upper strata of society,"⁴²

A more particular charge against Mitchinson arose from the case of the Rev. Joseph Nathaniel Durant, who had been a curate in Tobago, but failed to receive

any preferment after his return to Barbados, and accordingly left the island in 1876 to become dean of the Theological Institute of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Haiti. Durant appears to have been liked by his Tobago parishioners, a majority of whom wished him for their rector, and it seems that in spite of having resigned on the grounds of ill health he himself thought that he was entitled to the Tobago rectory or to an equivalent position in Barbados. Mitchinson's publicly given reasons for not preferring him were that Durant had stated that his health prevented his working in Tobago again, and that he had been ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.⁴³ However, statutory provision had been made in 1870 for Durant to exercise his clerical functions in Barbados,⁴⁴ and he had only been ordained deacon in Barbados, having been priested by Bishop H. H. Parry. This was pointed out by the writer of a letter to the Barbados Times, who asserted that the real difficulty was that Durant was a black Barbadian. The letter went on to complain that black and coloured tax-payers were forced to support a racist church establishment!

... is it right, is it just, both in the sight of God and all honest-minded men to tax ... a set of people to support an establishment in which it is difficult to get one of their number (however superior he may be in moral and intellectual abilities,) admitted, and if admitted, <he is> debarred from performing clerical duties?⁴⁵

An editorial in a later issue of the same paper, after condemning as utopian

fantasy a proposal by Mitchinson that Barbadian rectories should be the reward of those who had earned them by long and arduous service in the less prosperous islands of the Windwards, alleged that after what had happened to Durant this could hardly be seen as anything other than hypocrisy. The protest was bitter in the extreme, the writer comparing the bishop's speech with an occasion on which he had had to sit through a racist parody of the "Old Hundredth."⁴⁶ Whatever Durant's merits, they were also overlooked by Mitchinson's successors, for although he returned to Barbados after only two years in Haiti, he never became a rector, and spent the rest of his life as chaplain of the Westbury Cemetery.⁴⁷

Mitchinson's expressed views on the selection of clergy were on one occasion decidedly conservative!

I do not think the time has come, or is even near, when the ranks of the clergy will be largely recruited in the West Indies by the negro race. Prejudice between the complexions runs high; both races are almost equally to blame for it, and strange to say, the coloured people themselves are often the first to resent the introduction among them of a coloured pastor.⁴⁸

In spite of this, and whatever the circumstances of the Durant case, it is arguable that change in the diocese began with Mitchinson's episcopate, and that he himself was free of the prejudices which afflicted so many of his contemporaries. The one man for whom Mitchinson appears to have maintained an intense veneration throughout his life was the Rev. Edward Elder, who had been the headmaster of

Durham School when Mitchinson was a pupil there. "He was", Mitchinson noted, "a Barbadian by birth and unless his looks belied him (and his mother's) there was a strain of colour in their blood." If Mitchinson was in fact as prejudiced on the subject of colour as was alleged by the Barbadian press, it is strange that he should have considered Elder an educationalist in the same class as Thomas Arnold, and have paid tribute to his methods by imitating them at the King's School, Canterbury. It may also be noted that in 1880 the royal princes, who had noticed the general absence of social relations between the races in Barbados, found that a "young son of the black bishop of Haiti" was staying with Mitchinson at Bishop's Court.⁴⁹ The bishop's flouting of white opinion over the question of the cathedral choir has already been mentioned, and it is clear that on his arrival in Barbados he found it matter for comment that out of over forty clergy in the island only one was a coloured man. Soon afterwards he was contrasting the more liberal attitudes of Grenada with the prejudice of Barbados.⁵⁰ In 1878 he described "a strongly-coloured clergyman in Barbados" as "one of my best-loved and most valued priests",⁵¹ and noted that he himself had ordained to the diaconate three schoolmaster-catechists whom he had chosen not for their intellectual abilities, but on account of their "long-tried zeal, fidelity, and diligence, combined with sterling piety and strict morality" - precisely the abandonment of the "gentleman heresy" for which Hurrell Froude had called nearly fifty years before.⁵² In a slightly later instance, Mitchinson accepted an

ordination candidate in spite of the fact that one of the bishop's correspondents (who admitted him "to be a man of vital religion") complained that "Intellectually he does not stand high & his achievements are very poor", and that if ordained "he might want better things for himself."⁵³

An English newspaper printed a report of an ordination held by Mitchinson at St. Michael's, 13 March 1881, which is of great interest. The Rev. H. A. Todd, a coloured deacon, was ordained priest, and the bishop was assisted during the ceremony by two black priests - including Durant, who acted as chaplain - and a coloured deacon. The choir was "entirely black and coloured men and boys", and although the service began at 7 a.m., "There was a large and devout congregation, about a hundred of whom communicated." In addition, "It was remarked that the Bishop and the deputy-Archdeacon were the only white faces among the officiants, and that such a phenomenon twenty years ago would have been an impossibility in Barbados."⁵⁴

Even if this is seen as marking the beginning of an important change, it has to be admitted that the process was a slow one, and that half a century later a Barbadian journalist still had good reason to complain of "those who refuse native born Barbadians a place in the Established Church."⁵⁵ Nevertheless it is difficult to deny Mitchinson's concern for the welfare of the entire population of his "adopted country",⁵⁶ irrespective of class or colour, a concern which is perhaps most clearly expressed in his three printed assize sermons, which place increasing

emphasis on the idea that crime in Barbados was largely the result of social injustice.⁵⁷

The first of these sermons, preached at the opening of the Easter Assize, 1874, begins with a quotation from Tennyson's Locksley Hall expressive of belief in progress, and Mitchinson appears to have felt that the "process of the suns" had seen a gradual moral as well as material improvement in Barbados as elsewhere. He pointed out that this needed to be upheld by fresh efforts in each generation, and reminded his hearers that it was vain for them to plant and water unless God gave the increase, but in spite of this his audience was probably left with the feeling that it had much with which to be satisfied. There were no sweeping denunciations, and beyond advocating the establishment of "a well-ordered, strict industrial school", Mitchinson made no particular suggestions or complaints. He did remark that it was essential to provide a judicial system which would "thoroughly command the acceptance and confidence of the lower classes in this island", but he went on to say that this problem "has been, I take it, successfully solved" - a comment which betrays a considerable degree of naivety.

At the following Easter Assize Mitchinson had been in the West Indies for a year and a half, and was no longer inclined to offer his hearers comfortable words. He took as his text Proverbs xxx, 8, 9, and preached a sermon which can be read as a closely reasoned discourse on the nature of social obligations. In his youth the bishop had discovered that F. D. Maurice had "no charm" for him, and it is at first

difficult to see the "me lard" who resented the intrusive curiosity of lower-class Barbadians,⁵⁸ the would-be cathedral builder denounced by the popular press, as a Parson Lot, but the biblical quotations in this sermon are such as might have been used by Kingsley himself.⁵⁹ Mitchinson gave it as his opinion that, "in the majority of cases", crime in Barbados was the result of poverty, and that a community which wished to reduce its incidence of crime should do so by reducing the incidence of poverty. Education would be a help, but only when the educational system had been reformed. He specifically denied that public or private benevolence was of any use!

... it is only ... a residuum that in a healthily-organized community should ever be thrown for support upon benevolence. For benevolence ... is a two-edged weapon ... Undue or misapplied benevolence has a fatal tendency to pauperize.

He emphasised that poverty did not excuse theft, and he was far from sparing of what he saw as the vices of the poor, but he made it clear that the ultimate responsibility lay with the rich, who were able to implement the true answer to the problem!

the great principle of justice, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire", or as the same truth is otherwise put, that "a fair day's work is entitled to a fair day's wage."⁶⁰

Mitchinson warned the rich that their position had its own temptations, differing

from those to which the poor were subject, but just as dangerous! "self-indulgence and prodigal luxury", "oppression and injustice", "covetousness and unscrupulousness." He stopped short of proclaiming "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl", but from the same Apostle is borrowed a verse of peculiar appositeness!

Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.⁶¹

Preaching as the sugar-cane crop drew to a close, to a congregation which must have consisted largely of planters and the relatives of planters, the bishop could hardly have made more explicit his belief that the upper classes of Barbados had failed in their duty and succumbed to those temptations of the rich he had so carefully described. He said that he did not intend "anything like the fixing of wages by law" and claimed that "It is often beyond the preacher's province to prescribe remedies for the evils he lays bare ... problems which must be left to social science to solve", but there was no need to put forward specific answers, since acceptance of his argument that real Christianity inculcated "charity, courtesy, truth, justice, integrity, self-devotion, unselfishness" would of itself have led to radical change in Barbadian society. Without these vital principles, Mitchinson warned,

Society in its morbid states collapses with a hideous downfall; and even in its apparently healthiest and most thriving phases, is but a "whited sepulchre, which indeed, appears beautiful outwardly, but within is full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness."⁶²

The warning was given especial point by the Confederation Riots the following year. At the opening of the Special Assize for the trial of the rioters, Mitchinson preached from Romans i, 18, and although he began by treating his subject at length in a decidedly abstract manner, he brought it to bear on the recent "tidal waves of crime", which he compared in suddenness and power to the Severn Bore. He reminded the jurors that "Every miscarriage of justice is ... not only a scandal to the community, but a direct incentive to crime among the lawless" and warned them to "Leave all political feeling and bias at the Court-house door", insisting that this was essential when "determining the guilt or innocence of what are, in part at least, political criminals." He commented on the state of education, the police, and the punitive rather than rehabilitating nature of the island's prison system. But above all he emphasised the need to "bring religion home to those who, perhaps, most need and least heed its influences." The clergy were exhorted to greater diligence in their duties among the poor, but the laity of the upper classes were also the recipients of an implied rebuke!

Let your dependents see and feel that you yourselves believe and practise the religion you profess ... Let them see that it regulates your relations with them, your conduct to your

subordinates of whatever rank, your commercial transactions ... bring up your children to interest themselves in works of piety and charity. Teach them to be sympathetic with sorrow and want; teach them to be courteous and kindly to their inferiors.

The conclusion of the sermon combined almost millenarian yearning with renewed warning:

If all this could be realized among us, we should have less want, less misery, ~~less~~ crime, less cause to anticipate (as thoughtful minds cannot help doing now) a terrible revelation of the wrath of God against the ungodliness and unrighteousness of our little community.

less ignorance

Mitchinson's concern was not confined to the prophetic mode, and his work as chairman of the Education and Poor Relief Commissions fully reveals his capacity as a practical reformer.

Soon after he had completed his first tour of the various islands under his care, Mitchinson wrote to Governor Rawson of Barbados to suggest the setting up of a commission to investigate the state of education in that colony. The House of Assembly expressed its approval of the proposal, and the governor's commission was issued 3 February 1874.⁶³ Mitchinson was chairman, and ten other people were appointed, although two of these, Bishop H. H. Parry and Sir Robert Bowcher Clarke, left Barbados shortly afterwards, and were absent for most of the sittings. Mitchinson's chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Clarke, rector of St. Michael, was of the

commission, as was the Rev. P. B. Austin, rector of St. Philip, and the Rev. J. Y. Edghill, superintendant of the Moravians. The remainder were local politicians, and included Conrad Reeves. Mitchinson appears to have been the only Englishman - Bishop H. H. Parry was born in Antigua, and had spent most of his life in the West Indies, and Austin, though born in Wales, was a thorough West Indian in terms of both attitudes and family connections. As has been pointed out, the decidedly local nature of the commission was unusual, as most official reports on West Indian education in the century after Emancipation were prepared by outsiders.⁶⁴

While the other commissioners were neither nonentities nor ignorant of educational matters - most of them were members of the standing Education Committee of which the bishop was ex officio chairman - the commission's report is strongly characterised by Mitchinson's influence, in its general tone, its frequent references to English educational practice, and even in trivial details such as its suggestion that the proposed Island Professor of French and German should be "not necessarily, or even perhaps desirably, a native of either of those countries, but in preference an English graduate" - a recommendation which is reminiscent of Mitchinson's problems with the unfortunate "Mossoo" who taught French at the King's School, Canterbury.⁶⁵ That the contemporary Barbadian press chose to praise the report, and Mitchinson's part in it in particular, as a means of countering English attacks on West Indian institutions, does not lessen the

prominence they gave to the bishop's role in this and other educational matters. The Agricultural Reporter, in the course of an otherwise hostile article, described him as "foremost in promoting education"; twenty years later Clarke criticised his outspokenness, but remarked that his "services in the cause of Education will always be gratefully remembered in this Island"; and in its fulsome obituary the Agricultural Reporter (under different editorship) called Mitchinson "the author and founder of the existing system of liberal education."⁶⁶

The "system of liberal education" which developed from the Mitchinson Report and the 1878 Education Act which closely followed its recommendations can be and has been severely criticised,⁶⁷ and Mitchinson was probably largely responsible for most of the points liable to attack. Even at the time the report was criticised by a non-Barbadian observer as complacent, and it is undeniable that it perpetuated the existing class bias in education. It recommended the abolition of distinctions of colour in schools, but did not even mention the fact that candidates for exhibitions to secondary schools were required to produce proof of legitimate birth, a proviso which debarred most of the school population.⁶⁸ In 1891 the House of Assembly justified spending one-third of the total education budget on five or six hundred pupils in higher grade schools, while the remainder had to support 23,000 elementary school pupils, on the grounds that it was possible to get from the bottom to the top of the system⁶⁹ - and this was in fact what was envisaged by the Mitchinson Report, whose suggestions actually involved a reduction of just

over one per cent in the proportion of the education budget devoted to elementary education (though they also involved a very considerable increase in absolute terms). Primary education was seen as a matter of "educating the lower and poorer classes of the community" and it was taken for granted that those so educated would continue to be part of the plantation system!

It is manifest that the majority must return to field labour, for the simple reason that the other trades and employments will be overstocked, nor can it be reasonably doubted that they will be the better labourers for being educated.

Similarly, it is difficult to accept the report's contention that the proposed "second-grade" schools were to provide middle-level rather than middle-class education.

The highest form of education, the report maintained, should be offered in two "first-grade" schools, which were to be organised on the lines of English public schools, including a pronounced classical bias, which was in accordance with Mitchinson's personal views (though the development of the "modern side" was supported at one of them), the taking of examinations set in England, and the annual importation of inspectors from the English universities. Ideally those capable of benefitting from it should undergo, before settling down to their careers, "a course of higher academical training", and it was said that

It is needless to observe that this education in its most perfect form can best be had in the two great seats of learning in the Mother Country, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The report recommended the establishment of one or two scholarships a year from the first-grade schools to the English universities, and this, together with Mitchinson's personal example in supporting Barbadian students at Pembroke College, Oxford, out of his fellowship income,⁷⁰ was the origin of the Barbados Scholarship.

The ferocious competition which this involved was thought of as a stimulus to the whole educational system, and for those who were unsuccessful there was always Codrington College, in process of affiliation to the University of Durham,⁷¹ This would allow West Indians to obtain an English degree without crossing the Atlantic, but whilst it was due to Mitchinson's initiative, and the report was full of praise for the scheme, education at Codrington was clearly regarded as second best at most. In other words, just as Mitchinson had reorganised the scholarships at the King's School, Canterbury, to provide a pyramid with its apex in Oxbridge, so now the commission offered as the crowning glory of an élitest educational system a highly academic training abroad which might seem designed to leave the recipient completely unfitted for life in the island which had paid for his education, and to which, indeed, it was recognised he might never return. There were other influences - a similar scholarship already existed in Trinidad, for example - but it

seems that the fact that Mitchinson was himself an example of what a man of comparatively humble origins could achieve through such a scholarship system had its effect in Barbados as well as at Canterbury.

Yet these criticisms, however valid, are to some extent misplaced. Telling eighteenth-century planters that Christianity would make their negroes better slaves was certainly not an ideal justification, but it did further the christianization of slaves. The Mitchinson Report, by carefully explaining away planter fears, by its talk of "training and discipline" for the lower classes, by its dithering avoidance of an outright condemnation of child-labour, achieved the remarkable feat of persuading an oligarchy to increase the amount of money spent on the education of the masses by nearly eighty per cent - at a time when the Barbadian economy was in danger of collapse from the increasing competition offered by European beet-sugar. That similarly increased provision was made for the upper classes does not alter the fact that more schools were built for the poor and more poor children were educated. How far these schools achieved the ideal proposed in the report of an education "calculated to ennoble as well as inform our lower classes" is difficult to determine, especially since (contrary to the advice of the report) nothing resembling a proper teacher training college was established until 1912,⁷² but they did mean that Barbados possessed an educational system which was the envy of the West Indies and an exceptionally high literacy rate - a factor of great importance in the island's political development. The ladder of

opportunity offered by the system was unquestionably narrow - the commission proposed one exhibition from primary to first-grade schools, as against sixty to second-grade schools⁷³ - and it must have provided many bitter and unjust disappointments, but it did allow some to enjoy an access they would not otherwise have had to what was felt to be the best education in the Empire. Even the irrelevant classicism of the system can be overstressed, for it produced students whose practical contribution to Barbadian life is indisputable. To give only one example, winning the Barbados Scholarship in the year of Mitchinson's death was an important stage in the career of the man who has rightly been described as the architect of the social revolution in Barbados.⁷⁴

Mitchinson had taken a first in Natural Sciences at Oxford, and in spite of his emphasis on the traditional classical content of the curriculum, had encouraged the teaching of science at Canterbury. That the Barbados report included detailed recommendations on the teaching of science is probably directly attributable to him. These were implemented only in part, but they did lead in 1879, nearly half a century before the establishment of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, to the appointment of J. B. Harrison as the first "Island Professor of Chemistry and Agricultural Science", a post in which he was succeeded in 1890 by J. P. D'Albuquerque, who remained in office until 1928. These professors had perhaps their greatest impact on the teaching at Harrison College, where, for example, one of D'Albuquerque's pupils won the Barbados Scholarship in 1905 and went on to

take a first in Natural Sciences at Cambridge, but their work was far from purely academic, and combined with that of J. R. Bovell, the island's Agricultural Superintendant, was of great and practical importance in shaking the Barbadian planters out of their conviction "that the old system pays best", and by introducing new varieties of cane and new methods of cultivation saved the sugar industry from disaster.⁷⁵

One other significant innovation produced by the report was the founding, on the basis of an existing institution, of Queen's College as a first-grade school for girls. This opened in 1883 and has ever since played a distinguished part in the island's life.

The Mitchinson Report was not a very radical document, and it was only one factor among many, but by providing even to the extent that it did for the education of the masses and of their future leaders, it contributed largely to the remarkably smooth transition made by Barbados from white oligarchy to multi-racial democracy.

The Commission on Poor Relief, also chaired by Mitchinson, was a by-product of the cathedral scheme. It had its origin in an open letter,⁷⁶ published in the press, from the bishop to Sir Graham Briggs, who had maintained that poor relief was a far more pressing problem than the provision of a new cathedral for the diocese. The bishop described himself as "utterly perplexed" by the many and varied opinions offered him on the incidence and causes of poverty. He said, "I

have myself constant experience of the most persistent and universal mendicancy, and am shocked at the entire absence of any sense of degradation which begging ought to create in those who resort to it," and he proposed the setting up of a commission to investigate the matter. This suggestion was taken up by the House of Assembly, and Acting-Governor Freeling's commission was issued 28 August 1875, to the bishop and an assortment of politicians, clergymen and medical practitioners as local in composition as the Education Commission, with whose membership there was some overlap. The commission held eighty-four sittings over a period of twenty-seven months, with some interruption as a result of the 1876 disturbances, and the report was presented 30 November 1877.⁷⁷

Although the commission criticised some existing provisions, such as the system of clergy making doles out of the offertory money, which tended to "create paupers instead of aid poor persons",⁷⁸ the report was in many respects a defence of the status quo. Their comments on the level of wages have already been noted. While criticisms of the nature and extent of the means of financial and medical relief to the poor were made, it was noted that there were very few alternatives to work in the sugar industry, and as much of the blame as possible was put on the poor themselves. It was claimed that "the general unthriftiness of our labouring population" was shown in their love of litigation and personal display. One commissioner pointed out that statistics showed an enormous consumption of alcohol in the island. Alleging that "the entire island swarms with human beings

like a bee-hive or ant-hill", the report stated that

... when to this overcrowding is added the fact ... that ... by far the majority, if not the entire community, is inseparably wedded to the soil, and indisposed to leave it with the reasonable chance of bettering themselves elsewhere, anything like surprise at the wide spread of destitution, more or less severe, ceases to be felt.

Considerable space was given to censuring the immorality of the poor, and it was complacently explained that poverty bred poverty. By contrast it was expressly denied that there was

a riggardly disposition on the part of the employers of labour selfishly to combine to keep down the labour market, and to enrich themselves at the expense of the hands which produce the staple of their wealth.

Circumstances forced the planters to "the most rigid economy in the management of their estates", and it was surely in their favour that "while it may be urged that wages do not rise with a rise in the sugar market, it is equally the fact that they do not fall with it." The commission expressed its belief in the law of supply and demand, and doubted whether in any case a general increase in the level of wages would bring any benefit to the workers: "More money per day would, in by far the majority of cases, probably mean more idleness per week."

The report did make various recommendations, most of which saw legislative

enactment. For example the Poor Relief Act of 1880 set up a central Poor Law Board and local boards based on the parish vestries, as well as making provision for medical officers, dispensaries, and the possibility of increased almshouse accommodation. Another act of the same year regulated friendly societies, and in 1883 a reformatory and industrial school was established, and an act passed for the "better ordering of the poor ... and for the prevention of bastardy,"⁷⁹

Additional memoranda from various members of the commission were included in the report. The Rev. J. Y. Edghill had a long list of points on which he expressed dissent. The bishop's two memoranda included not only particular criticisms and alternative suggestions, but also a fundamental complaint. The recommendations of the commissioners were all very well, Mitchinson stated, but he was

profoundly concerned that they are wholly inadequate to meet the exigencies of poor relief in this Island, and that any system in which the Vestries are entrusted with so large a share of the administration of local relief will sooner or later be found a failure.

He explained that some vestries worked well, but only through the triumph of dedicated individuals over a faulty system!

... the more usual temptation of Vestries is to err on the side of parsimony; nor is it to be wondered that very close corporations, subject to no pressure of outside opinion owing

to the smallness of the area which each generally represents, should insensibly be actuated by the motive to reduce within the very narrowest possible bounds - not simply those of a just and wise economy - the taxation of which each Vestryman will to a greater or lesser degree feel the incidence.

The bishop was as anxious as any planter that the problems of Barbados should not be exaggerated - he was indignant when misrepresented as supporting a claim that starvation was endemic in the island⁸⁰ - but his part in the Poor Relief Commission showed genuine concern, and indicates his appreciation of the fact that palliatives were not enough. His memorandum received approval from the press, but nothing came of it.⁸¹ The situation had been accurately assessed a few months before the establishment of the commission by a pseudonymous commentator who attributed the "awful state of things" among the lower classes to "bad Legislation; a partial distribution of public patronage, and a one-sided contract between masters and servants." He prophesied that any such commission would consist of, and take its evidence from, planters and the creatures of planters, who would of course absolve themselves from all blame.⁸² The bishop's zeal for reform was unable to prevent this prediction being fulfilled, and there was no real improvement in the conditions of the poor until the radical social changes of the twentieth century.

Mitchinson's labours were by no means confined to the supervision of three dioceses and the chairmanship of two major commissions. Much energy was spent, for instance, on the creation of the Barbados Church Council and the attempt to

make it a worthwhile part of diocesan life. He found it impossible to persuade Barbadian churchmen, satisfied by the continuance of the establishment, to raise additional funds by a system of voluntary assessment of congregations, with the result that though there were not enough state-paid clergy to supply the island's needs, nothing could be done about this. Whenever a clergyman was ill or on leave, in the absence of anyone else to perform the duties, Mitchinson was obliged to do so himself, becoming in effect an unpaid "Curate in charge of the diocese."⁸³ When Bishop H. H. Parry was translated to an Australian see in 1876 his salary as archdeacon of Barbados, provided by the old Imperial Grant, then lapsed, and Mitchinson took over what became an office "without either distinctive duties to discharge or emoluments to receive ... in preference to conferring it as a mere titular distinction."⁸⁴ The following year he acquired what he described as a "somewhat incongruous increase to my proper duties"⁸⁵ when he spent five months acting as the chaplain of the new Westbury Cemetery in a successful attempt to prevent this becoming another of the recognised duties of the rector of St. Michael - the Burials Board eventually granted the bishop's wishes by appointing a full-time chaplain. Mitchinson's work with the cathedral choir has been mentioned, and his concern for education went beyond the commission and his chairmanship of the Education Committee. He was visitor of the Lodge School, Bishop's Court was always full of boys and students from Harrison's and Codrington College, and for nine months in 1880 he took over the headmastership of Harrison College in order

to allow Dr. Deighton a much-needed leave. This was a full-time job, and it was not skimmed, Deighton's enquiry as to how Mitchinson would manage his visitations receiving the answer "I would go round the islands in the holidays, and there were half holidays and evenings for other work." Some verses which have been preserved indicate that the bishop's reputation as a disciplinarian preceded him, but the boys were far from terrified, and it seems that while he found much to praise at Harrison's, the boys in turn liked and respected him - a fact which greatly increased his popularity outside the school.⁸⁶

Mitchinson's episcopate was not entirely without its personal pleasures, such as the opportunities which life in the West Indies gave him to pursue his interests in geology and natural history, but when in 1880 his college offered him a living, he decided to accept. He may have been concerned for his own health - he consulted a doctor while in England for the Lambeth Conference in 1878 - or for that of his mother and aunt, both extremely aged, who lived with him in Barbados and were dependent upon him. This particular responsibility must have weighed heavily, for he believed - wrongly - that the Church in Barbados might be disestablished within a few years. This would have made it difficult for him to support the old ladies on an income which would inevitably have been greatly reduced, whereas the living offered him would have provided much the same stipend without any of the insecurity.⁸⁷ Above all, however, he was worn out by self-doubt and the constant criticism of his actions, and as early as 1877 he had remarked that "Work ...

becomes a crushing and a killing thing where it is not cheered by hope nor irradiated by the faintest dawn-streaks of success ..."⁸⁸

His retirement was announced in February 1881, and Mitchinson left the island in the middle of the year.⁸⁹ He received a number of laudatory addresses, but his reply to one of them showed just how gloomy a view he took of the previous eight years!

... I cannot disguise from myself nor must I allow you ... to conceal it from me that my Episcopate has been in many respects, notably in some of its most important enterprises a failure, partly I doubt not through errors and failures of my very own, partly from causes beyond my control.⁹⁰

Near the end of his life he told a former pupil "I was very unpopular during the greater part of my residence in Barbados, very unpopular indeed, and therefore I suppose from most points of view, a thoroughly unsuccessful bishop."

It is true that he had not succeeded in transforming Barbados into a paradise of Christian virtue - the statistics which he quoted in his second visitation charge show that only eight per cent of nominal Anglicans attended church regularly and that the proportion of habitual communicants was even lower, in spite of the large numbers of confirmation candidates, and the illegitimacy rate remained high.⁹¹ He had failed to prevent bickering and factionalism, and he had certainly failed to keep politics out of the Church. The cathedral scheme was disastrous. His unpopularity, at least among certain sections of the community, is beyond dispute,

and there are time when it is difficult not to agree with the accusations of arrogance. Nevertheless his episcopate demonstrates the truth of Mitchinson's assertion that "From the first, I championed the negro."⁹²

CONCLUSION

When Mitchinson left Barbados, the Church in the island was still very far from being all that it might have been. In Barbados alone of all the West Indian colonies did the Church of England still enjoy the loaves and fishes of Establishment, and this undoubtedly contributed to the lack of initiative among the clergy bemoaned by Chester, whilst an upper class which Mitchinson found as uncultured and irreligious as Hurrell Froude had done nearly fifty years before appeared to value Christianity mainly as "the only effectual Way to prevent Insurrections and Murders" advocated by Bishop Porteus, the "embankment, to prevent the reflux of barbarism" described by Thomas Parry. In the circumstances, it was not surprising that observers such as Mitchinson and P. B. Austin should at times describe the religious condition of the greater part of the population in terms reminiscent of those addressed to Porteus by the Barbadian clergy in the previous century! "When one of this untutored class observes in his superiors a coldness and neglect of the great duties of life! it cannot seem strange if the depravity of nature should incline him to follow an example so powerful and so corrupt."

Yet in many ways the Church's achievements were as remarkable as its failings. In the course of a hundred years an almost entirely heathen country had become one which was at least in theory an almost entirely Christian one. A

resident episcopate had replaced one at three and a half thousand miles distance; churches, schools, clergy and a proper ecclesiastical organisation existed where none had done before. Control of clerical appointments had passed out of lay hands entirely, which was more than the Church could claim in England. The Church had acquired a predominant role in education at all levels, and the reorganisation of Codrington College, first by Coleridge and then by Mitchinson, offered at least the potential of future usefulness, to the diocese and to the West Indies as a whole. Church schools taught slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants to read and write, and the same education which many upper-class Barbadians hoped to use as a means of social control helped to produce the literate and politically conscious masses of the twentieth century. Clergymen like Duke and Harte defied the prejudices of their fellow slave-owners to preach the Gospel to those who had been denied it, and to proclaim the dignity and honour of the downtrodden before the face of God. It was the self-complacent and conservative Bishop Coleridge who had begun the erosion of the worst features of discrimination and Bishop Mitchinson who, though at times arrogant and aloof, demanded that Christianity be identified with social justice. The controversies he and other clergy aroused showed that the Church could no longer be ignored as it had been ignored for much of the eighteenth century. Even then the peculiarities of the island's society ensured that in Barbados it had long ceased to be merely a church for Englishmen abroad, and its growing sense of mission to all classes combined with the at first reluctant opening of the ranks of the clergy to non-whites further transformed the

institution. Mitchinson's journey to the Lambeth Conference in 1878 may be seen as symbolising the participation of Barbados in the process which has changed a monolithic Church of England into a worldwide Anglican communion, and where the West Indian churches are concerned it has long been the case that "The terms 'sending' and 'receiving' have lost much of their meaning,"¹ In the nineteenth century white Barbadians provided bishops for English, African and West Indian sees, but the pioneering contribution of the Rev. John Duport to the Pongas Mission was a truer portent of the future.² Only one of the eleven bishops of Barbados has been a Barbadian by birth,³ but the clergy of the diocese are now predominantly Barbadian, and fully representative of the racial composition of the population. Barbadians have continued to render service to the Anglican Church in many parts of the world, and the transformation of the Church on both sides of the Atlantic is shown by the recent appointment of a Barbadian as the first black archdeacon in England.⁴ In 1881 much of this lay in the future, but Barbadian Anglicanism was recognisably becoming a religion of, rather than merely for, the people.

Table 1.

Population of Barbados, 1844-81, showing differences of "Complexion."

	Total population	White	Coloured	Black
1844	122,198	(no distinction made)		
1851	135,939	15,824	30,059	90,056
1861	152,727	16,594	36,128	100,005
1871	162,042	16,560	39,578	105,904
1881	171,860	16,054	42,504	113,302

Sources: Barbados House of Assembly minutes 1844-45, p. 122 (xerox extract BDA Pam. C. 379); A Census of the Population of the Island of Barbados, taken on the night of the 25th of June 1851 (insert in House of Assembly Minutes 1851-52); Robert Haynes, comp., General Abstract of the Returns of the Population of the Island of Barbados according to the Census taken on the 7th of April 1861 (Barbados, n.d., ? 1861 - copy at BDA Plan F4/1); R. W. Rawson (governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71 (Barbados, 1872), pp. 1, 8; E. Lyte Stokes, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881 (Barbados, 1881), pp. 2, 4.

Table 2.

Population of Barbados, 1844-81, showing certain categories of occupation.

	Total population	Agricultural labour	Domestic service	At school	Unemployed
1844	122,198	30,005 ^a	b	b	8,956 ^a
1851	135,939	36,653 ^c	15,335 ^c	b	73,098 ^d
1861	152,727	42,255	12,298	21,814	38,886 ^e
1871	162,042	42,270	14,486	29,084	40,829
1881	171,860	43,692	14,956	34,733	37,016

Note a Men and women over 18 only.

b Not stated.

c This and the rest of the column includes all ages.

d Persons of "no fixed employment."

e This is made up of 24,827 children under five, 10,439 children aged five to fifteen, and 3,620 adults. The rest of the column similarly includes children.

Sources: Barbados House of Assembly minutes 1844-45, p. 122 (xerox extract BDA Pam. C. 379); A Census of the Population of the Island of Barbados, taken on the night of the 25th of June 1851 (insert in House of Assembly Minutes 1851-52); Robert Haynes, comp., General Abstract of the Returns of the Population of the Island of Barbados according to the Census taken on the 7th of April 1861 (Barbados, n.d., ? 1861 - copy at BDA Plan F4/1); R. W. Rawson (governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71 (Barbados, 1872), pp. 1, 16; E. Lyte Stokes, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881 (Barbados, 1881), pp. 2, 4-6.

Table 3.

Number and occupation of one-roomed houses in Barbados, 1871 and 1881.

	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>
occupied by 1 person	717	898
by 2 persons	913	1147
by 3 persons	793	940
by 4 persons	668	735
by 5 persons	505	539
by from 6 to 10 persons	625	661
by from 11 to 15 persons	18	21
by 16 persons	nil	1

Derived from figures in R. W. Rawson (governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71 (Barbados, 1872), p. 20; E. Lyte Stokes, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881 (Barbados, 1881), Tables 22, 22a-22k.

Table 4.

The Church of England in the island of Barbados. Clergy and church-room.

	Population	Clergy	Places of worship	Sittings
1812		14 ^a	14	
1825		17	17	5,030
1834	101,298 ^b	29	21 ^c	7,750 ^d
1851	135,939	33	42	24,967
1855		41 ^e	46	26,620
1857		42 ^f	50 ^g	27,837
1858		48 ^f	47	29,807
1862	152,272 ^h	50 ⁱ	48	27,649
1865		50	44	26,780
1884	172,754 ^j	44 ^k	45	23,655
1982	c.250,000	69	53	

Notes a Figures have been adjusted to include all clergy normally resident in the island, i.e., not only the parochial clergy, but also the bishop and archdeacon of Barbados (where not previously included), clergy at Codrington College, and clerical schoolmasters, but that for 1851 is that for those described in the source as "Parochial Clergy", though it includes the Principal of Codrington and the Chaplain to H.M. Forces.

b From the parochial returns for 1829, an approximation only.

c Includes those ruined in the 1831 hurricane, but not their temporary substitutes. Other figures in this column include temporary places of worship.

continued /...

Table 4, continued.

The Church of England in the island of Barbados. Clergy and Church-room.

- Notes d Not including the temporary places of worship (this year only). The figures in this column are approximations! for example the 1862 Report notes the decrease in the number of sittings and says "This decrease must, however, be regarded in the main as but an apparent one, and may be explained from the fact of a different mode of reckoning having been adopted in the recent returns of the Clergy."
- e Including one rector absent on leave.
- f Including three clergy absent on leave.
- g The figures for places of worship and sittings in 1857 are those in the table at the end of the 1857 Report, the body of which gives 49 and 27,400 respectively.
- h According to the 1861 Census.
- i Including two clergy absent on leave and one not working on account of ill-health.
- j Estimate.
- k One rectory vacant.

Sources:

For the years 1812, 1825, 1834, W. H. Coleridge, Charges (1835), General Appendix.
 For 1851, 1855, 1857, 1859, 1862, printed Reports of the Barbados Ecclesiastical Board (copies in BCP 1).
 For 1865, A Statistical Account of the Diocese of Barbados at the close of the Year 1865, collected from diocesan returns and other authentic sources (Durham, 1866).
 For 1884, The Barbados and Windward Islands Church Calendar, and Clergy List, for the Year of Our Lord, 1885 (Barbados, 1884).
 For 1982, Lisa Bessil-Watson, comp., Handbook of Churches in the Caribbean (Barbados, 1982), p. 42.

Table 5.

Religious affiliations of Barbadian population, 1871 and 1881.

	1871		1881	
	No.	%	No.	%
Church of England	144,080	88.9	151,048	87.89
Wesleyans	12,267	7.6	13,146	7.65
Moravians	4,733	2.9	5,742	3.34
Roman Catholics	513	0.3	524	0.3
Jews	(not stated)		23	0.013
Other denominations	449	0.3	541	0.31
Not stated	("Others, & not stated" together)		(836 ("Lunatics included"))	0.49
Totals:	162,042	100.00	171,860	99.993

Sources: R. W. Rawson (governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71 (Barbados, 1872), p. 19; E. Lyte Stokes, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881 (Barbados, 1881), Table 10.

The percentages for 1871 are those given by Rawson, which are substantially correct; those for 1881 have been calculated by the present writer, and do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Table 6.

Religious affiliations of Barbadian population, 1970.

	Numbers	% of total population
Anglican	124,961	53.12
Baptist (orthodox)	2,583	1.1
Brethren	4,492	1.91
Church of God	6,475	2.75
Methodist	20,256	8.61
Moravian	5,134	2.18
Pentecostal	14,670	6.24
Presbyterian/ Congregationalist	449	0.19
Roman Catholic	9,219	3.92
Seventh Day Adventists	6,174	2.62
Not stated	40,814	17.35
Total:	235,227	99.99

Calculated from figures in 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Volume 7 (Census Research Programme, UWI, Kingston, Jamaica, 1976), pp. 111-118.

Note a Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

b The designation "Baptist (orthodox)" is that used by the source. On the somewhat complicated history of Baptist churches in the island, see Hinds, C., "How the Baptists started in B'dos", Barbados Advocate, 12 May 1984.

c The category "Not stated" must include not only persons of no religious affiliation, but also adherents of a large number of comparatively small denominations which are not mentioned in the Census figures, e.g. the Salvation Army.

Table 7.

Illegitimacy in Barbados.

Baptisms of children born out of wedlock, as a percentage of all Anglican baptisms:

1850	55.0
1860	53.0
1865	58.3
1884	63.2
1924	67.0

Illegitimate births as a percentage of all live births:

1980	73.3
------	------

Derived from: Thomas Parry, A Charge delivered in the Cathedral and Parish Church of St. Michael, Barbados, May 16, 1861 (London, 1861), p. 15; A Statistical Account of the Diocese of Barbados, at the close of the Year 1865 (Durham, 1866), p. 8; The Barbados and Windward Islands Church Calendar, and Clergy List, for the Year of Our Lord, 1885 (Barbados, 1884), p. 18; Barbados Diocesan History, p. 41; Report on Vital Statistics & Registrations for the Year 1980 (Barbados, dated 31 December 1981), p. 2.

The 1865 figures are noticed by G. J. Chester, Transatlantic Sketches (London, 1869), pp. 105-6, where it is stated that "It is believed that things are in a still worse state now, and the above return probably gives a smaller number of bastards than the true one, on account of its being the almost invariable custom of people who live together unmarried, to represent themselves as man and wife, a fraud which is not invariably detected by the clergy."

Table 8.

Child labour in Barbados, 1851 and 1861.

	Total number of children aged 0-15	Children "under 15 years" employed in Agriculture	Domestic service
1851	62,833	4,541	1,641
		"Children 15 years of age and under employed at Agriculture"	Children under 15 in domestic service
1861	70,070	7,549	not stated

Calculated from A Census of the Population of the Island of Barbados, taken on the night of the 25th of June 1851 (insert in House of Assembly Minutes 1851-52); Robert Haynes, comp., General Abstract of the Returns of the Population of the Island of Barbados according to the Census taken on the 7th of April 1861 (Barbados, n.d., ? 1861 - copy at BDA Plan F4/1).

Table 9.

Instruction and employment of children in Barbados, 1861 and 1871.

The Proportion of Scholars, Male and Female, to the children under 15 in 1861 and 1871, and of such children in employment, are shown in the following:

	1861		1871	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
At School	33.9	32.	33.6	32.7
Educated at home	2.3	2.5	8.6	9.9
Employed	12.0	10.7	13.4	15.1
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	48.2	45.2	55.6	57.7
Unemployed	51.8	54.8	44.4	42.3

Source: R. W. Rawson (governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-1871 (Barbados, 1872), p. 20, where the percentages only are given.

Table 10.

"Children under 15 Years of Age Employed and Unemployed" in Barbados in 1881.

	Males	Females	Total
At School	16,801	16,286	33,087
Educated at Home	2,688	2,956	5,644
Agricultural Labourers	3,078	2,662	5,740
Domestic Service	584	1,414	1,998
Otherwise employed	776	628	1,404
5 Years & under	11,298	11,099	22,397
Unemployed between 6 & 15 Years	2,533	2,597	5,130
Infirm	26	36	62
Inmates of Hospitals	86	73	159
Criminals in confinement	24	18	42

Adapted from E. Lyte Stokes, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881 (Barbados, 1881), p. 7, where the following comment is made: "The number of Unemployed between 6 and 15 is rather large, and excites apprehension as to the future of these. If they are not trained up to habits of industry what will be their status in society in time to come."

Table 11.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth.

Summary.

Candidates born within the Diocese	59
Candidates born in West Indian territories outside the Diocese	4
Candidates born outside the West Indies	22
Candidates whose place of birth and father's "Quality" &c is not ascertainable	18

Total:	103

Source for Tables 11, 12a-12c, 13a-13c, 14: Bishop's Court Papers, Barbados Department of Archives.

Table 12a.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father.

Candidates born within the Diocese of Barbados.

	Barbados	St Vincent	Grenada	Trinidad	Tobago
Not ascertainable	19	2	2		1
Planter	6			1	
Clergyman	5		1	1	
Medical practitioner	3	2			
Carpenter ^a	3				
Esquire	2				
Hon. Esquire ^b			1		
Gentleman		1			
Army officer					1
Merchant	1		1		
Blacksmith	1				
Organist	1				
Schoolmaster	1				
Shopkeeper	1				
Shoemaker	1				
Free Person of Colour	--	--	--	1	--
Totals:	44	5	5	3	2

Grand Total: 59

For notes see following page.

Table 12a, continued.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father.

Candidates born within the Diocese of Barbados.

- Note a Includes Joshua Gittens Knight, whose father (of the same name) was described as Carpenter at the time of his son's baptism (1844) but who was by 1865 describing himself as Planter.
- b In the West Indies this style normally indicated a member of the island's Council, or upper House of the Legislature.

Table 12b.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father.

Candidates born in West Indian territories outside the Diocese of Barbados.

	Jamaica	Antigua	St Bartholomew
Not ascertainable	2		
Clergyman		1 ^a	
Merchant			1 ^b
	--	--	--
Totals:	2	1	1

Grand Total: 4

Note a Henry Hutton Parry, son of Bishop Thomas Parry, who was Archdeacon of Antigua at the time of his son's birth.

b Caspar Laportère Petersen, baptised in the Wesleyan Church, Gustavia. On the baptismal certificate, "Merch", is given under "Father's Trade"; a separate section gives the "Civil Status" of each parent as "White".

Table 12c.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and "Quality, Trade or Profession" of the candidate's father.

Candidates born outside the West Indies.

	England	Ireland	Jersey	India
Not ascertainable	4	3 ^a	1	
Clergyman	1			
Esquire	1			
Gentleman	1			
Army/Navy officer	1			
Captain, Madras Native Infantry				1
Barrister at Law	1			
Pitman	1			
Baker	1			
"Butler & Steward to General Carey"	1			
Mason	1			
Tailor	1			
Carpenter	1			
Servant	1			
Tunbridge Ware Maker	1			
Totals:	17	3	1	1

Grand Total: 22

Note a Includes William Blood, who was himself a Presbyterian minister before seeking Anglican orders.

Table 13a.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation.

Candidates born within the Diocese of Barbados, and those whose place of birth is not ascertainable.

	Barbados	St Vincent	Grenada	Trinidad	Tobago	not known
Codrington College ^a	38	3	4	2	1	11
Cambridge		1				1
Durham	1		1			
AKC ^b	1					
AKC and St Augustine's College, Canterbury	1					
CMS College, Islington						1
D.D., Jena						1
Literate	2	1				
No academic affiliation stated	1			1	1	4
Totals:	44	5	5	3	2	18

Note a Here, and in the other tables, this includes all who can be shown to have spent some time at Codrington, and not only those officially described as SCC, or "certificated Student of Codrington College".

b Theological Associate of King's College, London.

Table 13b.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation.

Candidates born in West Indian territories outside the diocese of Barbados.

	Jamaica	Antigua	St Bartholomew
Codrington College	1		
Oxford		1	
St Augustine's College, Canterbury	1		1
	--	--	--
Totals:	2	1	1

Table 13c.

Candidates for orders within the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73, by place of birth and academic affiliation.

Candidates born outside the West Indies.

	England	Ireland	Jersey	India
Cambridge	1			1
Trinity College, Dublin	1	2		
AKC	1			
CMS College, Islington	1			
St Mark's College, Chelsea	1			
St Augustine's Coll., Canterbury	1			
St Bee's College	1			
St Bee's and Codrington	1			
Codrington College	4	1	1	
Literate	1			
No academic affiliation stated	4			
	--	--	--	--
Totals:	17	3	1	1

Table 14.

Place of origin and academic affiliation of previously ordained clergymen entering the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73.

	Dio. of Guiana	Dio. of Antigua	Great Britain & Ireland	Jersey	India	PECUSA
Oxford			3			
Cambridge			6			
Trinity Coll., Dublin			3			
B.A. or M.A. of unspecified origin	1	1	1 ^c	2		
AKC			2			
St Bee's College			1			
St Augustine's Coll., Canterbury			1 ^d			
Codrington College	1 ^a					
Burlington College, New Jersey						1 ^f
No degree or academic affiliation specified	3 ^b	2	3 ^e	1	1	1
Totals:	5	3	20	2	1	2

Grand Total: 33

For notes see following page.

Table 14, continued.

Place of origin and academic affiliation of previously ordained clergymen entering the Diocese of Barbados, 1842-73.

- Note a J. A. Anton, who was ordained by Bishop Coleridge, and who had served in Tortola when it was still part of the Diocese of Barbados.
- b Includes two (H. R. Redwar and S. E. Knight) who were deacons subsequently priested in the Diocese of Barbados.
- c Thomas Clarke, B.A., son of the Rev. Thomas Clarke, rector of St Michael, Barbados.
- d The Rev. R. C. Nelson, who had previously served in the Diocese of Fredericton, Canada.
- e Includes Solomon Frost, formerly a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland.
- f The Rev. J. S. Mayers, a Barbadian by birth.

Table 15.

The Church of England in the island of Barbados.

Readers and Catechists, and Scripture Readers, 1834-65.

	Readers	Readers & Catechists	Scripture Readers	Adults under instruction
1834	6 ^a			
1857		2	9	
1858		2	28 ^b	
1862		2	18	
1865			18	2,118

Note a "These Readers are young men, who are pursuing their studies at Codrington College, with a view to admission to holy orders" (Coleridge, Charges). Other persons, not candidates for orders, were employed as catechists by Bishop Coleridge, e.g. Joseph Thorne, for whom see Jerome S. Handler, The Unappropriated People, esp. p. 166.

b One of these is also included in the previous column.

c Blanks indicate not stated.

Sources: W. H. Coleridge, Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands (London, 1835), General Appendix, p. 18; printed reports of the Barbados Ecclesiastical Board for 1857, 1858, 1862 (copies in BCP 1); A Statistical Account of the Diocese of Barbados, at the close of the Year 1865 (Durham, 1866).

Table 16.

Government expenditure on education in Barbados, 1846-1900.

1846	£375 0s. 0d.	
1855	£2,677 18s. 1d.	
1860	£3,345 14s. 2 1/2d.	
1865	£3,221 16s. 3 1/2d.	
1878	£8,786 18s. 8d.	(including £4,171 2s. 4 1/2 on "Primary Schools, capitation &c.", and £340 9s. 2d. on the Public Library.)
1879	£8,997 6s. 5 1/2d.	(this and subsequent years not including the Public Library).
1880	£13,132 5s. 8d.	
1885	£15,162 15s. 9d.	
1890	£14,709 4s. 1 1/2d.	
1895	£16,161 10s. 1d.	(of which £10,413 13s. 7d. on elementary education).
1900	£16,726 16s. 0 1/2d.	(of which £10,411 17s. 1d. on elementary education).

Source: Barbados Blue Books.

Note: All figures are given in sterling. However the amounts granted to individual schools are usually stated by the Blue Books in dollars and cents, with no sub-totals given, and rather arbitrary and inconsistent methods of accounting used, with the result that for most years it is almost impossible to arrive at an exact figure for expenditure on primary education alone.

¹ Seymour, A. J., "Culture in Commonwealth Caribbean Development", in Mitchell, D. I., With Eyes Wide Open, pp. 100-110, at pp. 106, 100.

² Gomez, D. W. (Bishop of Barbados), "As seen through West Indian eyes", in Today's Church and Today's World, pp. 40-44, at p. 41.

³ Mohr, E. V., Other Caribbean, p. 1.

⁴ CBC-TV is decidedly secular, but "Time to Sing", a programme similar to the EBC's "Songs of Praise", and presented by an Anglican priest, is very popular.

⁵ For example, in the Barbados Advocate, 7 May 1984, a sermon by Canon Goodridge was the main item on the front page, and the same issue's editorial page printed the full text of a sermon by Dean Orichlow which had been front page news in the same paper, 2 May 1984.

⁶ Reece, J. E. and Clark-Hunt, C. G., Barbados Diocesan History; Goodridge, Facing the Challenge (reviewed by the present writer, JBMHS, XXXVI, 400-403 (1982)); Campbell, P. F., Church in Barbados; Davis, K., Cross and Crown (for which see below, chapter 5, note 1).

⁷ Long, E., History of Jamaica, II, 238-240.

⁸ Duncan, P., Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica, p. 8.

⁹ Hinton, J. H., Knibb, pp. 473, 492, 558.

¹⁰ Ellis, J. B., Diocese of Jamaica, pp. 41, 56.

¹¹ Black was the government archivist.

¹² For Bridges, see Wright, P., Knibb, 'the Notorious', pp. 50-52, 67, 102, 144. For Stainsby and Trew, see, for example, Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion ... of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands from July to December MDCCCXXIII, pp. 36-38. Ellis, Diocese of Jamaica, p. 59, has a brief mention of Stainsby, whom he describes as having "earned for himself the reputation of being 'worse than a Baptist'."

¹³ I am given to understand by the Rev. R. A. Minter, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Quoy, who has made a detailed study of the Church in Jamaica, which unfortunately remains unpublished, that there is no reason to alter the traditional view as far as it relates to the period before the arrival of the first bishop.

¹⁴ Caldecott, Church in the West Indies, p. 98.

- 15 Wiseman, Short History of the British West Indies, p. 90.
- 16 Augier et al., Making of the West Indies, p. 174.
- 17 Parry and Sherlock, Short History of the West Indies (first published 1956).
- 18 Hamid, Idris, "Theology and Caribbean Development", in Mitchell, With Eyes Wide Open, pp. 120-133, at p. 122.
- 19 Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, p. 32.
- 20 For example, Barrett, Sun and the Drum; Owens, Dread; Schuler, M., "Myalism and the African Religious Tradition in Jamaica", in Crahan, M. E. and Knight, F. W., ed., Africa and the Caribbean; Simpson, G. E., Religious Cults.
- 21 This statement is based on the Church History section of the ASLIB Index to Theses from Vol. I, 1950-51 (published 1953) to date. One important thesis (Reckord, M., "Missionary Activity in Jamaica before Emancipation", London, Ph.D., 1964) is placed under Overseas Relations rather than Church History.
- 22 All three are Anglican clergymen. The third was Davis, whose work has now been published as Cross and Crown.
- 23 Wright, Knibb; Catherall, G. A., William Knibb: Freedom Fighter, Chichester, 1972.
- 24 Int'l Association of Caribbean Historians, Social Groups and Institutions in the History of the Caribbean, pp. 13-25.
- 25 Hoyos, Barbados: A History.

¹ Fleetwood, Sermon, p. 32. On Codrington College, see Caldecott, pp. 224-234, and, in much more detail, Bennett, Bondsmen and Bishops.

² Hodgson, Life of ... Porteus, is a well-written biography, perhaps by a relative of the bishop, who had married a Miss Hodgson. Hodgson used a number of Porteus's notebooks which are now preserved in Lambeth Palace Library (MS 2098-2106), and which provide valuable insights into Porteus's thought. It should be noted that whilst the entries are dated as if they were those of a diary, Porteus considerably altered and added to a large proportion of them in later years, and some of the material is to be found only in a transcript made for him.

³ Hodgson, Life, p. 276.

⁴ Hodgson, Life, p. 273-4.

⁵ LPL MS 2105, fol. 174-6.

⁶ LPL MS 2104, fol. 92.

⁷ Porteus, Sermon ... before the ... S.P.G., pp. 16, 32. Reprinted in Porteus, Sermons on Several Subjects, vol. I (3rd ed., 1783), pp. 381-409.

⁸ LPL MS 2104, fol. 94-5. In addition to Ramsay's Essay, see the summary of his career in the DNE. Shyllon, James Ramsay! The Unknown Abolitionist, is a study which includes useful extracts from its subject's works, but tends to make sweeping generalisations which are not always justified.

⁹ Another book which owed its appearance to Porteus's encouragement was Paley's Evidences, of which the bishop wrote "It was written principally at my suggestion and desire" (LPL MS 2103, fol. 64).

¹⁰ Porteus's comment, LPL MS 2104, fol. 96.

¹¹ On Steele, see Newman, John, "The Enigma of Joshua Steele", JBMHS, XIX, 6-20 (November 1951); and Allan, D. G. C., "Joshua Steele and the Royal Society of Arts", JBMHS, XXII, 84-104 (February 1955). This quotation appears JBMHS, XXII, 100, and is from Steele to Secretary, Society of Arts, 10 September 1786.

¹² LPL MS 2104, fol. 95.

¹³ LPL MS 2099, fol. 57. Porteus or his secretary here gives the date of the sermon as 11 February, whereas 21 February appears on the title-page of the separate printed version. The contents list of Porteus, Sermons on Several Subjects, Vol. I (3rd ed., 1783), p. x, says 23 February.

- ¹⁴ Porteus, Sermon ... before the ... S.P.G., esp. pp. 7-8, 9, 11, 31, 31n.
- ¹⁵ I have been unable to consult a copy of the 1789 edition, which was anonymous (information from Mr. Graham McKelvie of the University of Aberdeen). The quotations here used are taken from "An Essay Towards a Plan for the more effectual Civilization and Conversion of the Negroe Slaves ..." in Porteus's Tracts on Various Subjects, pp. 165-217. This was "considerably altered, corrected, and abridged" from the earlier version (note on half-title, p. 165).
- ¹⁶ On the Charleston school, which lasted until 1768, see Bolton, Southern Anglicanism, pp. 116-9, which corrects Raboteau, Slave Religion, pp. 116-7.
- ¹⁷ The quotations in this paragraph are from LPL MS 2099, fol. 82-84. The Mr. Brathwaite mentioned was the manager of the Codrington plantations.
- ¹⁸ W. Scott to Porteus, ^{19 February 1796} FPA, XV, fol. 120.
- ¹⁹ Caldecott, pp. 81-2, 88.
- ²⁰ For full details of this case, see Gilmore, J. T., "Manners, Marriages, and Morals in late eighteenth century Barbados: the case of the Rev. Richard Forster Clarke", JBMHS, XXXVI, 334-343 (1982).
- ²¹ Thomson's ordination papers, which include the letters from Inglis, are at FPA, XXVIII, fol. 294-331.
- ²² For the question of the Grenada glebes, FPA, XX, fol. 148-157, 165-7, 169-174, 181-2. For Dent's connection with the Methodists and his concern for the slaves, see his MS "Observations on the conversion and religious education of Negro Slaves" in CFS/P3, fol. 183-198, letters from him and various Methodist missionaries, CFS/P3, fol. 201-214; also Coke, History of the West Indies, II, 65-87 passim, 137. A view of Dent much less favourable than that given by Coke will be found in Devas, Conception Island, pp. 84-90, 113-115.
- ²³ A copy of this letter is at FPA, XXVII, fol. 15, and immediately following (fol. 17-19) is a set of printed Directions relating to Candidates for Orders from the West-India Islands. Similar instructions were given in Porteus's printed Letter to the Clergy of the West-India Islands, 1788.
- ²⁴ Governor Lord Balcarres to Porteus, 4 December 1800, FPA, XVIII, fol. 110.
- ²⁵ Porteus to Governor Nugent of Jamaica, 4 February 1802, FPA, XVIII, fol. 123-4.

²⁶ Francis Margaret to Porteus, 24 March 1788, FPA, XX, fol. 112-113; Alexander Richardson to Porteus, 18 July 1788 and 13 May 1789, FPA, XVII, fol. 43-6.

²⁷ Cited above, note 23.

²⁸ John Carter and others to Porteus, 26 September 1788, FPA, XVI, fol. 174-175.

²⁹ Margaret to Porteus, 17 October 1788 and 2 August 1791, FPA, XX, fol. 120-121, 144-5. Margaret was more successful with the free coloureds than with the slaves.

³⁰ As well as the letters from Richardson cited above, note 26, see Richardson to Porteus, 20 April 1790; Alexander Ewing to Porteus, 14 June 1791; Governor Henry Hamilton to Porteus, 24 September 1791; Richardson to Porteus, 4 July 1792, in FPA, ~~XX~~, fol. 49-50, 59-60, 61-62, 63-64.

X XVII

³¹ W. Stanford to Porteus, 22 July 1788, and C. Donaldson to Mrs. Monk, 18 October 1808, in FPA, XVIII, fol. 65-70, 157-8.

³² The Two Charters of the Society for Advancing the Christian Faith ... prints the charters and gives a summary of the Chancery proceedings. (The abolition of slavery obliged the Conversion Society to change its name and obtain a new charter to continue its work among the ex-slaves). The original charters are CFS/A1 and CFS/A3, whilst CFS/B1 is a copy of the will of Robert Boyle (the author of the Sceptical Chymist) who was the original founder of the charity, which he intended "for the advance or propagation of the Christian Religion amongst Infidels".

³³ CFS/B21.

³⁴ LPL MS 2103, fol. 52v. This refers to a speech in the Commons by Henry Dundas, 23 April 1792. Porteus later altered "into effect" to "in some degree into effect."

³⁵ For this, and the information on the individual missionaries, see the Society's minute-book, CFS/D1.

³⁶ He died in Barbados later that year! CFS/D1, p. 73; Rev. Francis Fitchatt to Bishop Porteus, 21 June and 21 July 1800, FPA, XVI, fol. 189-191. Turner's will is preserved in BDA (original will, apparently not copied into any will-book).

³⁷ In 1819 Curtin became Rector of St. Mary's, Antigua (CFS/D1, p. 228), a

position he held until his death at the age of eighty in 1845, at which date he was still in receipt of a pension from the CFS, though they did not see fit to continue this to his widow (Bishop Davis of Antigua to Rev. J. T. Barrett, 23 April 1845, CFS/F5, fol. 91; minute-book, CFS/D3, fol. 86). From a comment by Hurrell Froude, it appears that at the time of Emancipation Curtin was a slave-owner (quoted in Gilmore, "Hurrell Froude", at JBMHS, XXXVI, 147).

³⁸ LPL MS 2104, fol. 87-90.

³⁹ On the BFBS, LPL MS 2104, fol. 61; and on the Moravians, *ibid.*, fol. 89v, 90v. The SPCK's use of non-Anglican missionaries in India provided a precedent which would have been well known to Porteus (Neill, Christian Missions, pp. 231-235).

⁴⁰ Porteus, A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations, in the British West-India Islands; LPL MS 2104, fol. 142, 164, 171-2; CFS/D1, pp. 139-140.

⁴¹ Identical versions may be found in CFS/D1, pp. 17-25; in the unpaginated committee minute-book, CFS/D4; and in a letter-book, CFS/F3, fol. 170-182. A printed version exists, but has on the title-page only Instructions for Missionaries to the West-India Islands, with no publisher's name, date, or indication of by what authority it was put forth, whilst in the text "the Society" is referred to only as such. This explains why they are incorrectly referred to by Watson (Civilised Island, pp. 9, 91) as instructions to "missionaries ... sent out by the Church of England" as a whole, and as "instructions given to Anglican missionary groups" in the plural. Maggs Bros. Ltd., Catalogue 1034, item 4480, describes them as "Rules of the Church Missionary Society." They are not mentioned in Handler's Guide.

⁴² CFS/D1, p. 103.

⁴³ Such reports were issued from 1824 until Emancipation, when the Society did expand its operations once more, in response to the Amelioration policies of the British Government, in addition to which the Society printed subscription lists and explanatory leaflets such as Some Account of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands (1823), and an Address of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion ... &c (1825) of which there are at least two different printings, one in the British Library, and another, in different format, in the collection of the present writer. This material was presumably sent to anyone thought likely to be interested: "I am desired by the President & Governors of the Society for the Conversion &c^a of the Negro Slaves to request the favor of your attention to the inclosed Papers" (MS circular, February 1825, signed by the Society's secretary, J. T. Barrett, D.D. - collection of the present writer).

⁴⁴ See his Tracts on Various Subjects, pp. 413-414; and Sermons on Several Subjects, Vol. II (15th ed., 1817), pp. 63-66, where he describes Christ as having come to rescue men from Satan's rule, "that horrible and disgraceful state of slavery."

⁴⁵ Porteus, Sermon ... before the ... S.P.G., p. 11n.

⁴⁶ LPL MS 2088, fol. 43-44.

⁴⁷ Porteus, Sermons on Several Subjects, Vol. II (15th ed., 1817), p. 3.

⁴⁸ Porteus, Tracts on Various Subjects, pp. 337-425. The passage particularly relating to slavery is pp. 352-367, and the quotations used here are from pp. 355-357, 361, 362-363.

⁴⁹ Porteus, Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew (11th ed., 1810), II, 185.

⁵⁰ Porteus, Tracts on Various Subjects, p. 286, from "A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London ... in the year 1794."

⁵¹ CFS/F3, fol. 140 (Porteus to Richard Burn, 5 November, no year, but 1791 is that given in LPL handlist).

⁵² LPL MS 2103, fol. 79v, referring to a conversation with Wilberforce, 24 February 1796. LPL MS 2103, fol. 41, referring to Wilberforce's motion on the subject in April 1791, has a similar comment by Porteus: "My own opinion is that it would have been better to have moved for a gradual abolition at first. But greater and Wiser Men thought otherwise."

⁵³ LPL MS 2104, fol. 101.

¹ The three classic works on Barbadian history are Ligon, True & Exact History; Poyer, History of Barbados; Schomburgk, History of Barbados. For Poyer, see Vaughan, H. A., "Poyer's Last Work", JBMHS, XXI, 155-159 (August 1954), and for Schomburgk, the article in the DNB and the note by E. M. Schilstone, JBMHS, XXVIII, 54-5 (February 1961), which gives some additional information. An article on Ligon by P. F. Campbell is to appear in the 1985 issue of JBMHS.

Hoyos, Barbados! A History, is at its best when dealing with the twentieth century, but is the only general history of the island since Schomburgk. Campbell, Outline of Barbados History, is a short pamphlet for the general reader, whilst Tree, R., History of Barbados, is in effect a tourist guidebook.

Handler and Lange, Plantation Slavery, is a valuable study, whilst Handler's Unappropriated People, is, by the nature of the subject, as much a general social history as a monograph. On Watson, Civilised Island, see the review by Jill Sheppard, JBMHS, XXXVI, 189-192 (1980).

² This comparison, which is much used, probably owes its popularity to its appearance in Schomburgk (p. 8), but is to be found earlier - CR, V, 473 (August 1823), letter signed "Barbadensis."

³ Address of Council of Barbados to Governor Sir Charles Grey, 11 April 1842; quoted Schomburgk, p. 498.

⁴ Quoted by Watson, Civilises Island, p. 52.

⁵ Pinckard, Notes on the West Indies, II, 76. Pinckard visited the island in 1796. Marryat remarked that "The coloured people of Barbados, for reasons best known to themselves, are immoderately proud, and look upon all the negroes who are born on other islands as niggers" - Peter Simple, p. 259 (first published 1834).

⁶ Marryat, Peter Simple, p. 262.

⁷ For the erroneousness of the traditional date of 1605, see Williamson, J. A., Caribbee Islands, pp. 15-18.

⁸ Schomburgk, pp. 255-7.

⁹ Poyer, p. 658. A full description is given pp. 658-668.

¹⁰ Two additional members for Bridgetown were first returned in 1843 - Schomburgk, p. 499.

¹¹ Between 1663 and 1838 the island was saddled with a duty of four and a half percent on the value of its exports, originally granted to Charles II in return for the abolition of the proprietary system, but the considerable sums raised by

this duty were spent by the British government on its own purposes, and did nothing to meet the expenses of government in Barbados. See Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 80-81; Schomburgk, pp. 484-6.

¹² Schomburgk, p. 451. Disputes over the governor's salary form a major theme of Poyer's history.

¹³ Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 83. For a more detailed survey, see Campbell, P. F., "Aspects of Barbados Land Tenure, 1627-1663", JBMHS, XXXVII, 112-158 (1984).

¹⁴ The reliability of various seventeenth-century estimates of the Barbadian population has been a much argued question. For a summary and interpretation, see Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 74-6, 84-116 *passim*.

¹⁵ These figures are taken from Handler, Unappropriated People, Table I (pp. 18-19), which gives statistics for nineteen different years between 1748 and 1833-4. For a study of the poor whites, see Sheppard, J., The "Redlegs". Apart from transients such as official and military personnel, some whites continued to settle in Barbados, but this immigration was little more than a trickle after the end of the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ Brathwaite, Creole Society in Jamaica, p. 152 and note.

¹⁷ Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 103.

¹⁸ The West Indian was first performed in 1771 (DNB article on Richard Cumberland) and was many times printed. The preface to an early nineteenth-century edition (Cumberland's British Theatre, Volume II, 1826) describes it as "a play which has amused and satisfied British audiences for more than half a century." The quotation used here is from Act I, Scene III.

For the Beckfords, see the articles in the DNB, and for John Foster Alleyne, an example of a Barbadian planter who thought of settling in England but decided he could not afford to do so, Watson, Civilised Island, p. 34.

¹⁹ Watson, Civilised Island, pp. 69-72, points out that figures for slaves imported into Barbados include a large proportion who were almost immediately re-exported, as the island was used as a slave-market for a much wider area than its own plantations.

²⁰ Watson, Civilised Island, p. 70.

²¹ Handler and Lange, Plantation Slavery, p. 29. They give the Jamaican figure as 37% rather than 36%.

- 22 Handler and Lange, Plantation Slavery, p. 68.
- 23 Report from a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, appointed to inquire into the origin, causes, and progress, of the late Insurrection (Barbados, n.d., but 1818 - see Handler's Guide, p. 70). One plantation manager thought that the general condition of the slaves was "considerably ameliorated, compared to what it was thirty or forty years before", and that "for many years past" the owners had been increasingly indulgent to them (p. 51), an opinion shared by another manager (p. 46). Another thought that there had been a particular improvement "within the last ten years", chiefly as a result of the increased use on plantations of ploughs and other labour-saving devices and methods (p. 44), a statement echoed by one of the two medical practitioners whose evidence was printed in the Report, the other being in general agreement (pp. 52-54).
- 24 Poyer, pp. xx and xvii, quoting George Pinckard, Notes on the West Indies (1806), I, 288-9 (emphasis added by Poyer), and the Rev. Cooper Willyams, An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in the Year 1794 (1796), p. 14. (Poyer's footnote incorrectly gives this as Williamson, and he refers to him as Williams on p. xvi; in addition, the words "Africa to" are not in Pinckard).
- Poyer's quotation is selective. Pinckard discovered that not all Barbadian slaves were as well housed and cared for as those in the "happy negro yard" which provoked the comment used by Poyer. However, he certainly felt that conditions were much worse in Demerara and Surinam. Poyer has also dropped Willyams's italicisation of "as to the necessities of life", and while Willyams indeed appears sympathetic to the planters, he does say "Far be it from me, however, to justify slavery in itself; it most certainly is an evil", and this is omitted by Poyer - it is the sentence immediately following the passage he quotes.
- 25 Report ... of the late Insurrection, p. 54.
- 26 Coleridge, H. N., Six Months in the West Indies (4th ed., 1841), p. 274. (First published 1826. Handler's Guide, p. 86, appears to be in error in giving 1848 as the date of the 4th ed.) The author was a cousin of Bishop Coleridge, and acted as his secretary on the latter's first tour of his diocese. For a contemporary review, which is sympathetic, but aware of the book's superficiality, see CR, VIII, 392-400 (July 1826).
- 27 Schomburgk, pp. 370, 421-2.
- 28 Willyams, Campaign in the West Indies, pp. 28, 42; Appendix, pp. 10-12, 23. Another was sentenced to eight hundred lashes for desertion, but was pardoned - Appendix, p. 24.
- 29 Report ... of the late Insurrection, p. 34.

³⁰ CR, IX, 766 (December 1827) - from Resolutions of the (white) inhabitants of the parish of St. Lucy, passed 17 April 1827, and originally published in the Barbados Mercury. Poyer expressed the attitudes of most white Barbadians by saying that "With us, two grand distinctions result from the state of Society! First between the White Inhabitants and free people of Colour, and secondly between Masters and Slaves. Nature has strongly defined the difference not only in complexion, but in the mental, intellectual and corporeal faculties of the different Species, and our Colonial code has acknowledged and adopted the distinction!" (Poyer, John), A letter addressed to His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis Lord Seaforth by a Barbadian (Barbados, 1801) - reprinted JBMHS, VIII, 150-165 (August 1941), with this passage appearing at p. 162.

³¹ Schomburgk, p. 431-2. After considerable opposition, an Act had passed in 1817 giving free coloureds the right to testify in the law courts - Schomburgk, p. 401.

³² See for example the case of the slave Robert James, accused of raping a white woman; Schomburgk, pp. 444-6. A striking fictional example is the account of a Dignity Ball in Peter Simple, chapter XXXI (pp. 259-266). Marryat had himself attended such a ball (Handler, Guide, p. 89).

³³ The American Revolution in particular caused great distress - Watson, Civilised Island, pp. 19-23.

³⁴ Watson, Civilised Island, p. 70.

³⁵ Watson, Civilised Island, p. 59.

³⁶ Report ... of the late Insurrection, p. 39.

³⁷ Collymore, Barbadian Dialect, Introduction (unpaginated). This is in contrast with Jamaican English, for which see Cassidy, Jamaica Talk.

³⁸ E.g., Ligon, True & Exact History, p. 51; Hughes, Griffith, Natural History, pp. 15-13; Pinckard, Notes on the West Indies, I, 271-5.

³⁹ The main change was from predominantly east-headed burials to predominantly west-headed burials - Handler and Lange, Plantation Slavery, pp. 196-8.

⁴⁰ Handler and Lange, Plantation Slavery, p. 181; BDH, p. 74; Watson, Civilised Island, pp. 87-8. In the late 1920s my godmother once encountered in the main road of a country village a costumed individual whom she believed to be an obeah-man telling fortunes by "casting the bones", but she did not stop to ask questions. Cf. this advertisement from The Nation (Barbados), 25 January 1984:

"THE HEALING lady cures all your sickness, come see Madame Peppy, - Address (...)", As well as syndicated horoscopes, Barbadian newspapers also carry advertisements from Madame Peppy's foreign competitors. For example, a "Mr. Bolivar Paredes Y.", with an address in Ecuador, offers to "wipe off all worries" - advertisement in Sunday Advocate (Barbados), 18 March 1984.

⁴¹ For a general survey, see Simpson, Religious Cults.

⁴² Hughes, Griffith, Natural History, p. 15.

⁴³ Schomburgk, pp. 94-8; Shilstone, E. M., "Some early records of the Friends in Barbados," JBMHS, XXXIV, 43-52 (May 1971) (first published Barbados Advocate, 25 December 1926); Cadbury, Henry J., "Glimpses of Barbados Quakerism, 1676-9", JBMHS, XX, 67-70 (February 1953), and "Quakers in Barbados in 1687", JBMHS, XXXIV, 53-57 (May 1971); Pearce, Clifford, "The Quaker Property in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXV, 287-299 (1978); Shorrocks, Francis, S.J., "History of the Catholic Church in Barbados during the 19th Century", JBMHS, XXV, 102-122 (May 1958); introduction to Shilstone, Monumental Inscriptions; Anon, "The Moravian Mission in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXI, 73-78 (May 1965) (extracted from The Times, Barbados, 2, 5 May 1865); Maynard, Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province; Coke, T., History of the West Indies, esp. II, 131-165; Shrewsbury, J. V. B., Memorials, esp. pp. 89-204.

⁴⁴ Hughes, Griffith, Natural History, p. 9.

⁴⁵ "T. Walduck's Letters from Barbados, 1710", JBMHS, XV, 27-51, 84-88, 137-149 (November 1947, February, May 1948). This quotation appears pp. 49-50.

⁴⁶ Will of Sampson Smirk, 27 October 1743, BDA RB6/34, p. 376; codicil, 22 May 1801, to will of Sir John Gay Alleyne, printed JBMHS, III, 233 (August 1936) (in Part 3 of Allen, Louise R., "Alleyne of Barbados", JBMHS, III, 223-234).

⁴⁷ Pinckard, Notes on the West Indies, I, 246.

⁴⁸ Poyer, p. 639.

⁴⁹ On the marriage licences, Poyer, p. 445, under date 1780. Schomburgk, p. 68, tells how the preparations for such a home christening were interrupted by a landslide in 1785.

⁵⁰ BDH, p. 76.

⁵¹ Shrewsbury, Memorials, ^{p. 151} presumably reporting what he heard from his father, the missionary expelled in 1823. He introduces these remarks by saying "The Barbados of more than half a century ago was very different to the

well-ordered, intelligent, and Christian island of the present day."

⁵² Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 103.

⁵³ Godwyn, Negro's & Indians Advocate, pp. 136-7. But there were other persons who acted as ministers without being in valid orders - Campbell, Church in Barbados, pp. 85, 103-107. See also the example of Matthew Grey, mentioned below.

⁵⁴ The quotations are from Poyer, pp. 197-8. See also Schomburgk, pp. 93-4, 424, noting that p. 94 requires correction from the errata leaf. On the currency question, Greaves, Ida, "Money and Currency in Barbados", JBMHS, XIX, 164-169, XX, 3-19, 53-66 (August, November 1952, February 1953). At the beginning of the nineteenth century £100 sterling was equivalent to £133 6s. 8d. Barbados currency, but when the system was abolished in 1848, £100 sterling equalled £156 currency. For the eighteenth century, see also Poyer, p. 192. Different rates prevailed in all the other islands. For the value of Jamaican livings, see Edwards, Bryan, History (5th ed., 1819), I, 264-5. For Harte, see his "Defence", a letter (with supporting documents) to Bishop Coleridge, 16 July 1827, published in The Barbadian, 24 July 1827, and CR, IX, 766-781 (December 1827).

⁵⁵ Poyer, pp. 232-4, and, for the background, Findling, John E., "The Lowther-Gordon Controversy: Church and State in Barbados, 1711-1720", JBMHS, XXXIV, 131-144 (March 1973).

⁵⁶ Poyer, p. 661. The relevant clause of a typical governor's commission, and a form of collation, may be found in Stokes, A., View of the Constitution of the British Colonies, pp. 158, 201. For the powers of the president, Poyer, pp. 662-663.

⁵⁷ Edwards, Bryan, History (5th ed., 1819), I, 296 (recte 269), footnote. Cf. Cundall, F., ed., Lady Nugent's Journal, (3rd. ed., 1939), p. 131: "Clergymen make no secret of making a traffic of their livings; but General N. has set his face against such proceedings, and has refused many applications for the purpose" (24 April 1802).

⁵⁸ BDH, pp. 82-83, 89, 93, 95. The 1815 appointments caused some controversy, and a rare pamphlet on the subject is described by Jerome S. Handler and Samuel J. Hough, in "Addenda to A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834 - Part I", JBMHS, XXXVI, 172-177 (1980), at p. 176, but the statement made there that Maynard was rector of St. Michael is incorrect, as the rector of that parish from 1790 to 1842 was the Rev. William Garnett.

⁵⁹ Goodridge, Facing the Challenge, pp. 11-13. On the question of marriage licences, see Forde, Norma, "The Evolution of Marriage Law in Barbados", JBMHS,

XXXV, 33-46 (March 1975).

⁶⁰ Printed BDH, pp. 133-135.

⁶¹ Campbell, Church in Barbados, p. 93.

⁶² Chapter 1 above, pp. 25-26.

⁶³ FPA, XVI, fol. 97-167. Harris is noted as Rector of St. Lucy in a list dated December 1772 (FPA, XVI, fol. 170-171) and probably remained as such until 1784 when the Rev. William Terrill, who appears to have been his immediate successor, was appointed. (BDH, p. 102, gives 1785 as the date of Terrill's appointment, but it is stated in the register of St. James, his previous parish, that he was "translated to St. Lucy's" in 1784 - BDA RL1/46, p. 585). Harris's burial is recorded BDA RL1/36, p. 394; the year is missing, but the context suggests the early or middle 1780s.

⁶⁴ BDA RL1/1, p. 26. Lane was definitely minister of St. Michael's, and the dates of his will and probate (BDA RB6/13, p. 106) strongly suggest that they are the same, but certainty is impossible.

⁶⁵ Harlow, History of Barbados, p. 249. The probate of his will (BDA RB6/12, pp. 197 ffq.) which was granted by Governor Dutton, still refers to him as "Matthew Grey Clerke".

⁶⁶ Handler and Hough mention the sermon and describe the author as such in their article cited above, note 58. In 1825 the Rev. D. Maycock was garrison chaplain in St. Lucia (Coleridge, W. H., Charges, 1835, Appendix, p. 22), but this was not necessarily the same man - a glance at Venn and Foster's catalogues of Oxbridge graduates will show that there were rather a lot of Barbadians called James Dottin Maycock or simply Dottin Maycock in this period. I have not been able to see the sermon, which Handler and Hough describe as rare, and I have not included the author in my calculations.

⁶⁷ Tyrell (BDH, p. 89) is in fact the Rev. William Terrill. Rojas (BDH, p. 93) is the same as the Rev. Patrick Rose mentioned in the next line. The error is almost certainly due to a misreading of BDA RL1/49, p. 100, where the transcriber's attempt to copy a long "s" in the original register has resulted in an untidy mess.

⁶⁸ For A'Court, FPA, XV, fol. 226.

⁶⁹ The most useful were of course Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, and Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, but a number of published college registers and the occasional school register were also consulted.

⁷⁰ The Rev. John Carter is described as "M.A." on a tablet in St. George's Church (BDH, p. 86). Although the recorded ages differ by three years, he may well be one of the three persons of the same name (one of them a Barbadian) who appear in Venn and Foster for the correct period, but none of the three is noted as having proceeded to a degree. BDH, p. 77, credits Thomas Wharton with a D.D., and he appears as the "Rev. Dr. Thos. Wharton" in the Barbados Mercury, 19 July 1788 (extract in JBMHS, XVII, 171 - August 1950) but there is no Thomas Wharton, D.D., in Venn or Foster, though it is possible that the Barbadian clergyman is to be identified with an M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford.

⁷¹ Personal communication.

⁷² BDA RB6/16, pp. 428 ffg. See also "Rev. Gilbert Ramsay's Mortification Trust", JBMHS, XVII, 187-189 (August 1950).

⁷³ BDA RB6/38, p. 320.

⁷⁴ BDA RB4/71, p. 130. Garnett did not die until 1844, and there are a number of codicils to the will, but these do not alter the impression of the size of the estate.

⁷⁵ BDA RB6/38, p. 227.

⁷⁶ BDA RB4/60, p. 197.

⁷⁷ BDA RL1/25, p. 112.

⁷⁸ Accounts of Slave Compensation Claims. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16 March 1838. (Sessional number 215). This is reproduced in the Irish University Press facsimiles of British Parliamentary Papers, Slave trade Series, Volume 87, pp. 71-435.

- ¹ Coleridge, Charges (1835), p. 68.
- ² Ligon, True & Exact History, p. 82. For the much-quoted story of the slave Sambo, whose master refused to allow his conversion, in spite of Ligon's pleadings, see ibid., p. 50. On the subject of the image of the Cross in the banana, compare Seymour, M.C., ed., Mandeville's Travels (Oxford, 1967), p. 35.
- ³ Handler, Jerome S., ed. and trs., "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados in 1654", JBMHS, XXXII, 56-76 (May 1967), at p. 67.
- ⁴ Godwyn, Negro's & Indians Advocate, esp. pp. 4, 76-8, 102-103, 97-8 (n.b. this duplicates previous pagination); Campbell, Church in Barbados, pp. 115-6, 132-4.
- ⁵ Connell, Neville, ed. and trs., "Father Labat's Visit to Barbados in 1700", JBMHS, XXIV, 160-174 (August 1957), at p. 168.
- ⁶ BDA RL1/46, p. 22. The marriage entry "Robert Wilson & Jane the slave of Mrs Thorpe Lycence", dated 19 December 1700, appears on the same page. If Robert Wilson had also been a slave, one would have expected the register to say so.
- ⁷ The replies are in the Fulham Papers - for the Barbadian ones see FPA, XV, 203-214.
- ⁸ Gibson, Edmund, Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London.
- ⁹ Twelve Anniversary Sermons Preached before The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1845), pp. 125-140, esp. pp. 137-140.
- ¹⁰ Twelve Anniversary Sermons, p. 76 (from that by Bishop Butler, preached 1739).
- ¹¹ Twelve Anniversary Sermons, p. 151 (from that by Bishop Lowth, preached 1771).
- ¹² Hughes, Griffith, Natural History, p. 17.
- ¹³ LPL CFS/F3 fol. 222-223, 227, 228.
- ¹⁴ Hinton, Knibb, p. 220.
- ¹⁵ "The Negro Servant" was first published in the Christian Guardian, May, August, 1809, and the Annals of the Poor first appeared in 1814 (Brown, Ford K.).

Fathers of the Victorians, p. 536). I possess a copy of Babay and the True Account printed together as a Cheap Repository Tract (Bath, n.d., late 1790s), but I have also seen the True Account printed separately. The story of Babay is derived from Ramsay's Essay (pp. 259-261), and is in large part in exactly the same words.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Graham D. McKelvie of the University of Aberdeen for drawing my attention to the existence of the 1785 edition (which is identical with that of 1789), and also for information as to the probable origin of the work: in 1785 Bishop Porteus sent a letter to the Bray's Associates recommending the abridgement of Wilson "for the use of the Negroes, with the addition of Hymns & Prayers", and a committee was established for the purpose.

¹⁷ LPL CFS/F4, fol. 56-7, 82. Wilson's Indians is printed in his Works (ed. Clement Cruttwell, 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1782), I, 123-193. All references to Wilson are to this edition.

¹⁸ Christian Directions and Instructions (1789 ed., hereafter simply Instructions), p. 57; Wilson, Works, I, 150.

¹⁹ Instructions, p. 74; Wilson, Works, I, 154.

²⁰ Instructions, p. 86. Wilson, Works, I, 158, differs only in having "eager" instead of "eagerly". For the reference to revenge, Instructions, pp. 82-3; Wilson, Works, I, 157.

²¹ Instructions, p. 105. Wilson, Works, I, 186-7 has "just", rather than "honest", but is otherwise identical.

²² Instructions, pp. 38-9, which is identical with Wilson, Works, I, 145. Cf. Acts, xvii, 26.

²³ Wilson, Works, I, 128. Instead of Wilson's preface, the abridgement has an "Address to the Negroes", which is entirely different.

²⁴ Instructions, p. 47.

²⁵ Instructions, p. 60. Wilson, Works, I, 151, merely has "You have declared already, that you are fully convinced, - that there is but one God of all the nations of the world."

²⁶ Instructions, pp. 65-6. Based on Wilson, Works, I, 152, but "whether white or black" is not in Wilson.

²⁷ Instructions, p. 133.

²⁸ Instructions, p. 124. The same prayer, transposed from first person singular to plural, also appears at p. 126.

²⁹ The Mercury advertisement is reprinted JBMHS, XVII, 173 (August 1950).

³⁰ FPA, XXVII, fol. 192-202; BDA RL1/49, p. 238; dedication and preface to Holder, H. E., Doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity briefly asserted and vindicated (1791); St. Philip Burials, BDA RL1/25, p. 109; 19 August 1805, "Infant Slave belong to Rev^d M^{rs} Holder Widow".

³¹ Dickson, Mitigation of Slavery, pp. 432-3.

³² Holder, Short Essay on the Subject of Negro Slavery, with a Particular reference to the Island of Barbadoes (1788), pp. 33-4. See also his Fragments of a Poem, intended to have been written in consequence of reading Major Marjoribanks's Slavery (Bath, 1792).

³³ BDA RL1/30, pp. 62, 63, 64, 70.

³⁴ BDA RL1/49, p. 133, and the entry on Duke in Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses.

³⁵ Like his brothers and at least his eldest son, he was a slave owner, and at the time of his death was possessed of a "sugar-work plantation in the parish of St. Thomas" (see his will, BDA RB6/33, p. 109, and those of the Rev. Thomas Duke, Rector of St. Andrew, BDA RB6/20, p. 89, and the Rev. John Duke, Rector of Christ Church, BDA RB4/54, p. 90).

³⁶ Francis Margaret to Bishop Porteus, 21 June 1788 (FPA, XX, fol. 114-115); Alexander Richardson to the same, 13 May 1789, and 20 April 1790 (FPA, XVII, fol. 45-6, 49-50).

³⁷ Duke, William, A Course of plain and familiar Lectures on the Articles of the Christian Faith, and on the Two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper (2nd ed., Gloucester, 1790), and A Course of plain and familiar Lectures on the Christian Covenant, on the Articles of the Christian Faith, and on the Two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper (4th ed., London, 1803). I have examined and compared these two editions, copies of which are in the British Library and the University Library, Cambridge, respectively. In the course of my unsuccessful search for a copy of the first edition, I learnt that a copy of the eighth is held by the British Library Lending Department. See also Handler, Jerome S., "Addenda to A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834 - Part IV", JBMHS, XXXVII, 82-92 (1983), at pp. 86-87, though Handler is mistaken in describing Duke's Lectures as "clearly intended only for white congregants." For the copies sent to Antigua, LPL CFS/F4, fol. 82.

217 October 1788, 120-121

^{37a} Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. vi, vii. The fourth edition merely has "for the use of a congregation very ignorant and uninformed", and does not include the second passage quoted here.

³⁸ Even this might not have been needed - note the way in which the two words are treated as synonyms in the tract by Pinder discussed below. It is possible that "servant" was the word originally used by Duke.

³⁹ For example, where the 2nd ed., p. 50, has "whatever your lot may be in this world, whether bond or free, Christ has died for you ...", the corresponding passage, 4th ed., p. 51, omits "whether bond or free."

⁴⁰ Particularly interesting is the use of "making sport", 2nd ed., p. 10.

⁴¹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 12-13.

⁴² Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 13-14.

⁴³ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., p. 15. The version of this passage given in the 4th ed. bears almost no resemblance. "My people", in the sense of dependants, servants, was of course standard English (OED, s.v. "People", 3, b) but was also very much a West Indian usage - see the quotation given by Dickson, Letters on Slavery, p. 48, where it is specifically used to mean the speaker's slaves.

⁴⁴ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 10, 15, 25-6.

⁴⁵ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 38-39. Considerably altered in 4th ed., p. 39.

⁴⁶ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 83-5, 110.

⁴⁷ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 124, 125-6. Cf. Job, iii, 17-19.

⁴⁸ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 44, 55. The 4th ed., (pp. 45, 57) adds in the first instance "or a child its parent", and in the second simply alters the image to that of a son offending his parent.

⁴⁹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 40-41.

⁵⁰ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 129-130. For "subject unto them", cf. Luke iii, 51.

⁵¹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 140-141.

⁵² An earlier version of my work on Harte was published as "The Rev. William

^{37a} Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. vi, vii. The fourth edition merely has "for the use of a congregation very ignorant and uninformed", and does not include the second passage quoted here.

³⁸ Even this might not have been needed - note the way in which the two words are treated as synonyms in the tract by Pinder discussed below. It is possible that "servant" was the word originally used by Duke.

³⁹ For example, where the 2nd ed., p. 50, has "whatever your lot may be in this world, whether bond or free, Christ has died for you ...", the corresponding passage, 4th ed., p. 51, omits "whether bond or free."

⁴⁰ Particularly interesting is the use of "making sport", 2nd ed., p. 10.

⁴¹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 12-13.

⁴² Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 13-14.

⁴³ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., p. 15. The version of this passage given in the 4th ed. bears almost no resemblance. "My people", in the sense of dependants, servants, was of course standard English (OED, s.v. "People", 3, b) but was also very much a West Indian usage - see the quotation given by Dickson, Letters on Slavery, p. 48, where it is specifically used to mean the speaker's slaves.

⁴⁴ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 10, 15, 25-6.

⁴⁵ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 38-39. Considerably altered in 4th ed., p. 39.

⁴⁶ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 83-5, 110.

⁴⁷ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 124, 125-6. Cf. Job, iii, 17-19.

⁴⁸ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 44, 55. The 4th ed., (pp. 45, 57) adds in the first instance "or a child its parent", and in the second simply alters the image to that of a son offending his parent.

⁴⁹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 40-41.

⁵⁰ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 129-130. For "subject unto them", cf. Luke iii, 51.

⁵¹ Duke, Lectures, 2nd ed., pp. 140-141.

⁵² An earlier version of my work on Harte was published as "The Rev. William

Harte and Attitudes to Slavery in Early Nineteenth-Century Barbados", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXX, 461-474 (October 1979), to which reference should be made for full biographical details. The chief additions made here are the details about the publication of Harte's Lectures, taken from the Conversion Society's papers. I was not aware when I wrote my original article that Harte was a slave-owner, but BDA RL1/30, p. 92 records the baptism of two slaves belonging to him.

⁵³ LPL CFS/D1, p. 241.

⁵⁴ LPL CFS/D1, pp. 254-255; CFS/F4, fol. 66.

⁵⁵ LPL CFS/D1, pp. 280-281.

⁵⁶ LPL CFS/F4, fol. 66, 75, 80.

⁵⁷ LPL CFS/F4, fol. 82.

⁵⁸ Handler, Guide, pp. 75, 80.

⁵⁹ CR, XXII, 24 (January 1840). The book then reviewed was Harte's Practical Sermons (London, 1839), which contains nothing of specifically West Indian interest.

⁶⁰ Caldecott, p. 174.

⁶¹ See his sermon to his white parishioners printed in Harte, W. M., Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew (London, 1824), II, 475-500. All references to Harte's Lectures are to this duodecimo edition in two volumes, of which there is a copy in the University Library, Cambridge.

⁶² Harte, Lectures, I, 6, 246.

⁶³ Harte, Lectures, II, 489.

⁶⁴ Harte, Lectures, I, 71, 138-9, 156.

⁶⁵ Harte, Lectures, II, 161, 291-6. Harte also published a sermon which was actually entitled Slavery not inconsistent with Christianity (Barbados, 1824).

⁶⁶ Harte, Lectures, II, 498.

⁶⁷ Harte, Lectures, II, 478-9.

⁶⁸ Harte, Lectures, I, 272. *this is the first, and correct use of this pagination. The pages between I, 288 & I, 313 are erroneously numbered (269), 270-292.*

- ⁶⁹ Harte, Lectures, II, 207-208. Cf. Acts, x, 34, 35; Romans, x, 12.
- ⁷⁰ Harte, Lectures, I, 272. *See note 68 above.*
- ⁷¹ Harte, Lectures, I, 401. The reference is to the piece of money found in the fish's mouth (Matthew, xvii, 27). See also Harte, Lectures, I, 192: "he who, while on earth, healed a poor leper of his leprosy, and a poor servant of his palsy, will exalt and raise you to a high rank in the kingdom of Heaven."
- ⁷² Harte, Lectures, I, 278. *See note 68 above.*
- ⁷³ Hinds, Samuel, The Catechist's Manual and Family Lecturer; Being an Arrangement and Explanation of St. Mark's Gospel, for purposes of Missionary and Domestic Instruction (Oxford and London, 1829). See also the entry on Hinds in the DNB.
- ⁷⁴ CR, VI, 151-4 (March 1824).
- ⁷⁵ Pinder, Advice to Servants, pp. 1-2. My study of this work has been based on a microfilm of the copy in the Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., which is missing pp. 9-18, but I have been unable to discover any other copy.
- ⁷⁶ Pinder, Advice to Servants, pp. 2-3.
- ⁷⁷ Pinder, Advice to Servants, p. 6. Cf. Colossians, iii, 22; Acts, x, 2.
- ⁷⁸ Pinder, Advice to Servants, pp. 3-4.
- ⁷⁹ Pinder, Advice to Servants, p. 33.
- ⁸⁰ Pinder, Advice to Servants, p. 18.
- ⁸¹ Pinder, Advice to Servants, p. 22.
- ⁸² Pinder, Advice to Servants, p. 29. Cf. Matthew, xx, 28 (or Mark, x, 45); Acts, x, 38.
- ⁸³ Eliot, Edward, On the Importance of giving Religious Instruction to the Slave Population in the West Indies (Barbados, 1827), and the same author's Christianity and Slavery (London, 1833); Thome and Kimball, Emancipation in the West Indies, pp. 54, 70; CR, XIX, 640-641 (October 1837).
- ⁸⁴ See the accounts of Joseph Rachell, a free black, in Dickson, Letters on Slavery, pp. 180-182, and Ramsay, Essay, pp. 254-8; and of the slave John in

Dickson, Letters on Slavery, pp. 182-3.

⁸⁵ Dickson, Letters on Slavery, p. 58. Dickson was already in England by 1788, and so must be referring to a date some time before that of publication.

⁸⁶ On 5 August 1823 a meeting of the clergy of Barbados unanimously agreed to an address (printed in the course of a letter from "A true Friend to the Slaves", CR, VI, 22-24, January 1824) in which they called for the establishment of an association to further the christianization of slaves in Barbados. This address refers to "the encouragement which Mr. Harte, Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Hinds have experienced" in this work. Harte is discussed above. Hinds was at one point a missionary of the Conversion Society, but I do not know why the Rev. George Forster Maynard (Rector of St. Thomas 1815-33, and of St. James 1833-48) should receive special mention in this context.

⁸⁷ Parry, Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus (Antigua, 1834), p. 8. (Another edition, with a slightly different title, was published in London later the same year).

⁸⁸ Dickson, Letters on Slavery, p. 57.

⁸⁹ Hardy, J. Stockdale, The Character of the late Very Reverend Robert Boucher Nickolls, LL.B. Dean of Middleham (London, 1817), which is an expanded version of an article which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, March 1816; Nickolls, A Letter to the Treasurer of the Society instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London, 1787), which reached a fourth edition in the following year; Dickson, Mitigation of Slavery, p. 526.

⁹⁰ Harte, Lectures, I, 362-3. "Owned" is presumably used in the sense of "recognised, acknowledged", but there is perhaps some unintentional ambiguity. Compare the reference by the Moravian missionary Adam Joachim Haman to his congregation's "heartly prayers ... to let us all and our dear children be owned by Him as his dear-bought property" (BDA Mor. 2/2/1a, entry for 7 September 1790). Haman refers elsewhere to converts becoming "our Saviour's property" - *ibid.*, entries for 16 May, 30 May 1790. Compare also St. Paul's "Ye are bought with a price" (I Corinthians, vi, 20 and vii, 23).

- ¹ CR, VI, 22-24 (January 1824), letter signed "A true Friend to the Slaves." This appears to be what Bishop Coleridge refers to as "a former Association for the instruction of the Negroes", which he was able to revive as a branch association of the Conversion Society - BDA X/10/2, p. 57. (This last is a xerox copy of a notebook compiled by Coleridge giving details of his life up to his consecration, and describing his first visitation of his diocese.)
- ² Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons ... 15th May, 1823, p. 34. For details of the Amelioration programme, see Mathieson, British Slavery, pp. 115-182.
- ³ Lord Bathurst to Rev. W. H. Coleridge, 23 January 1824, copied by recipient, BDA X/10/2, pp. 15-17.
- ⁴ Letters Patent erecting the diocese, printed BDH, pp. 133-5.
- ⁵ Letters Patent, 11 May 1826, printed Ecclesiastical Calendar of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, for 1839, pp. 1-5.
- ⁶ Coleridge, W. H., An Address delivered at the City of Caracas ...
- ⁷ Caldercott, pp. 137-147; Schomburgk, p. 102 (and errata leaf); Parry, General View of the ... Diocese of Barbados. "Dependencies" here refers mainly to the small islands of the Grenadines, some of which were (and are) attached politically to Grenada, the rest to St. Vincent.
- ⁸ Mathieson, British Slavery, pp. 183-242; Hurwitz, Politics and the Public Conscience; Turner, Mary, "The Baptist War and Abolition", Jamaica Historical Review, XIII, 31-41 (1982).
- ⁹ Mathieson, British Slavery, pp. 243-314. Sturge and Harvey, West Indies in 1837, p. 151, describe it as "but slavery under another name." See also Thome and Kimball, Emancipation in the West Indies.
- ¹⁰ Davy, West Indies, before and since Slave Emancipation, p. 20. See also Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation, pp. 141-188. It was of course feared that this commercial distress would affect the finances of the Church - see, for example, letter signed "C. W. S." on "The Church in the West Indies", Colonial Church Chronicle, II, 265-8 (January 1849). On the hardship which resulted among the labouring population, see Thomas Parry, printed circular letter to the clergy of Barbados, 12 July 1847 (copy in BCP 34); Mather and Blagg, Bishop Rawle: A Memoir, pp. 75-76.
- ¹¹ Laurence, Immigration into the West Indies.

¹² Robotham, "The Notorious Riot", provides a survey of the extensive literature on Morant Bay and a new interpretation. On constitutional changes in the eastern Caribbean and their consequences in Barbados, see Hamilton, Barbados and the Confederation Question.

¹³ Statistics on cholera and emigration are given in Rawson, Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71, pp. 1-3. Edghill, About Barbados, pp. 120-9, provides an eye-witness account of the epidemic.

¹⁴ Copy of a Report from C. J. Latrobe, p. 8; Carlyle, Latter-Day Pamphlets, pp. 6, 22, 23 ("The Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" first published Fraser's Magazine, December 1849); Sewell, Ordeal of Free Labor, pp. 31-35. The existence of a number of "free villages" whose inhabitants owned their own land did little to alter the general pattern - for an example, see Hughes, Ronald, "St. Elizabeth's Village, St. Joseph", JBMHS, XXXVI, 66-71 (March 1979).

For the situation elsewhere, see Rivière, W. Emanuel, "Labour Shortage in the British West Indies after Emancipation", Journal of Caribbean History, IV, 1-30 (May 1972); Hall, Douglas, "The Flight from the Estates Reconsidered: the British West Indies 1838-42", ibid., X & XI, 7-24 (1978).

¹⁵ For the 1840 Act, usually known as the Contract Act, see Laws of Barbados (1875), I, 191-198. An 1883 Act, Laws of Barbados for Session 1882-83, pp. 120-123, provided that the penalty of imprisonment should no longer apply to agricultural labourers, though domestic servants remained liable, and the Act added "insolence" to the reasons for which they could be found guilty of breach of contract. "An Act to consolidate and amend the Acts of this island relating to Master and Servant", 1891 c. 56, Laws of Barbados for Session 1891-'92 (Part 2) (unpaginated), introduced only slight modifications, but a 1932 Act, Laws of Barbados Session 1932-1933, Vol. VIII, Part IV, pp. 378-9, removed the penalty of imprisonment except for non-payment of money penalties to which "any servant other than a domestic servant" might become liable for certain forms of "negligence or improper conduct", "insolence" disappearing from the list. Finally "An Act to amend the Master and Servant Act, 1891", passed 1937, Laws of Barbados, IX, 490, repealed all previous legislation except for some provisions relating to servants' entitlement to wages from the estate of a deceased employer, and to false references.

Such legislation was not unique to Barbados. See Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation, for similar Acts in Antigua (pp. 37-39), St. Kitts (pp. 49-50), and St. Vincent (pp. 83-4).

¹⁶ "Meliora", Letters on the Labouring Population of Barbadoes, Preface (dated 10 December 1857), p. iii. "Meliora" was the Rev. Edward Pinder - see Chester, Transatlantic Sketches, p. 106. Of a Barbadian family, and resident in the island for some time, Pinder does not appear to have had any ecclesiastical

preferment there.

¹⁷ Desultory Sketches and Tales of Barbados, p. 255. No name appears on the title-page, but the author gives himself as "Theodore Easel" - doubtless a pseudonym, but the work shows genuine, if superficial, acquaintance with the island. Easel in fact thought the blacks well off! "... to assimilate the labourer of Barbados with the priest-ridden, starving peasant of distracted Ireland, would be wronging the former by the comparison" (p. 252).

¹⁸ "Meliora", p. 28. For "the return of better days", ibid., p. 20. Cf. Sewell, Ordeal of Free Labor, p. 26: "Barbados ... is infinitely more prosperous now than she ever was in the palmiest days of slavery."

¹⁹ "Meliora", pp. 12-13. Cf. CR, New Series, I, 363-366 (May 1841), letter signed "Selim", "On Agricultural Labourers' Cottages", which describes similar horrors in England.

²⁰ Edghill, About Barbados, esp. p. 126; Chester, pp. 106-108, who, after quoting at length from "Meliora", claims that ten years later things were even worse.

²¹ Barbados. Prospectus for the Establishment of an Hospital. To be called "The Barbados General Hospital." The copy in BCP 34 has on its second leaf a MS circular letter to the clergy of Barbados, 7 May 1840, signed by Bishop Coleridge, suggesting that an offertory be taken up at least once a year for the benefit of the hospital.

²² Thomas Parry to clergy of Barbados, printed circular, 7 February 1850 (copy in BCP 34).

²³ Schomburgk, pp. 127-131; "Meliora", pp. 17, 42-45.

²⁴ Chester, p. 74 (emphasis original). For his "wearisome residence of some ten months in Barbados" see p. 119. His nomination, 23 November 1867, by C. C. Cummins, rector of St. George, Barbados, to the assistant curacy of St. Luke's in that parish, is in BCP 15. Cf. BDH, p. 120, which disapproves strongly of his book.

²⁵ "Meliora", pp. 46-7; Sewell, Ordeal of Free Labour, pp. 32-3. The minute-book of the Association (BCP 5) records fifteen meetings between November 1857 and March 1859. For the first six of these, before his departure to England, the secretary was the Rev. Edward Pinder, described as "originator & most zealous supporter" of the Association (minutes of seventh meeting, unpaginated).

²⁶ Sewell, Ordeal of Free Labor, p. 67. The identical observation was made by Trollope, who visited the island in the same year as Sewell - West Indies and

the Spanish Main (5th ed., 1862), p. 204.

²⁷ Chester, p. 99; Dalton, Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Bacchante", I, 55.

²⁸ Chester, pp. 95-6; Barbados People, 1 June 1876, letter signed "Agricola."

²⁹ In 1854 a "heated religious controversy took place ... finding its way into the newspapers, owing to the Rev. E. G. Sinckler having preached in St. Lucy's Parish Church in the surplice, instead of in the customary black gown! Mr. Horatio N. Springer, Member of Assembly, objecting to it as a 'symbol' of Puseyism" - Sinckler, Barbados Handbook, p. 22 (the author presumably a relative of the clergyman concerned). In 1860 a curate of "advanced" views chose to send up the opinions of his evangelical rector by means of a pseudonymous letter to the press; this led to a controversy with the newspaper's editor with "much intemperate & incautious language used on both sides", and the curate was dismissed, though Bishop Parry agreed to give him another curacy in the island - The Barbadian, 30 August 1860 (letter signed "A Scripture Reader") and subsequent issues (clippings in folder "Case of Rev. N. H. Greenidge 1860", BCP 34); Thomas Parry's notes of letter to Dr. Phillips, 9 April 1861, in book marked "Journal & Letters Official 1860", pp. 40-41 (BCP 34); note by Thomas Parry, 22 April 1861, in diary marked "1861. Diocese of Barbados. Minutes of Proceedings" (BCP 34).

Similar troubles occurred in other islands of the diocese. In St. Lucia the Rev. J. Semper was persuaded to drop a number of innovations (such as administering Baptism and the Churching of Women in the presence of the congregation) because they offended "the ladies, our kind patrons" in the parish (H. H. Parry, archdeacon of Barbados, notes of letters to Semper, 29 October, 9 and 25 November 1864 and to Miss R. Alexander, 26 October, 26 November 1864 - BCP 3, "Diocese of Barbados. Letter Book commenced Aug 25 1862", pp. 120, 155, 156, 161). A little later "the excess of ritualism to which the St. Vincent Clergy seem inclined" amounted to "one or two little matters, e. g. cross on scarf particular position of standing" (H. H. Parry, vicar general, notes of letter to Rev. H. W. Laborde, 2 October 1865, referring to a report by the Bishop of Antigua who had just visited St. Vincent, BCP 3, "Diocese of Barbados. Letter Book. Commenced Jan. 16th, 1865", p. 72).

³⁰ Coleridge, Charges (1835), p. 151.

³¹ In what appears to be the draft of an official report by Parry, then archdeacon of Barbados (headed "Barbados. Jan^y. 1. 1840. Numbers of Congregations", BCP 34, folder "Thomas Parry, 1838-58") it is stated "In the (black) labouring part of the population, there (may be) are still (some) many unbaptised; but their number is diminishing daily; and of those not yet baptised many are catechumens, & more are hearers at our places of worship, so as no longer to be, strictly speaking in a state of heathenism." (The words in brackets crossed out in the original).

³² According to Bessil-Watson, Handbook of Churches in the Caribbean, p. 42, the Anglican Church in Barbados claimed in 1982 a baptised membership of c. 130,000 and 33,800 communicants.

³³ Sewell, Ordeal of Free Labor, pp. 40-41; Remains of the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A., I, 367-368. For an account of Froude's residence in Barbados, see Gilmore, J. T., "Hurrell Froude and the West Indies: an episode in the history of the Oxford Movement", JBMHS, XXXVI, 144-157 (1980). Compare Mather and Blagg, p. 115; Chester, p. 74-76; Rev. J. H. Sutton Moxley, An Account of a West Indian Sanatorium and a Guide to Barbados, pp. 142-152.

³⁴ Parry, Charge (1852), esp. pp. 14-15, 17, 28-30, 34-5. See also his Charge (1843), pp. 25-26, and Charge (1861), 13-15; together with Schomburgk, pp. 89-90; and Rawle's comments in Mather and Blagg, pp. 169-70.

³⁵ Coleridge, Charges (1835), Appendix, pp. 16-17. "At the commencement of the year 1825, the number of schools in Barbados, in connexion with the Church (and there were few, if any, others) for the religious instruction of the poor, were, six for white children, one for coloured, and one (on the Codrington College Property) for slaves" (*ibid.*, p. 19). In 1838, the "Total under Instruction in Schools of any description" in Barbados was 13,869 out of a population estimated at 120,000 (Copy of a Report from C. J. Latrobe, pp. 68-69). See also Gordon, Century of West Indian Education; Green, British Slave Emancipation, pp. 327-52.

³⁶ BDA X/10/2, pp. 1-31. Coleridge's language at one point is obscure, but may imply that he had some slight personal acquaintance with Lord Liverpool, who certainly knew of him through mutual acquaintances. For the Christian Remembrancer articles, CR, V, 406-408, 440 (July 1823); CR, V, 473-5, 495-7 (August 1823); CR, VI, 22-4 (January 1824); CR, VI, 151-4 (March 1824). Coleridge states that his first issue was March 1823, and that he remained editor for some months after accepting the bishopric.

³⁷ Gilmore, J. T., "Bishop Coleridge: A bibliography of his printed works", JBMHS, XXXVI, 50-65 (March 1979); CR, VII, 317, 448-9, 516-7, 661-4, 729-32, 794-6 (May, July, August, October, November, December 1825); CR, VIII, 42-46, 53-58 (January 1826); CR, VIII, 115-6, 118-123 (February 1826) etc. Few other bishops, English or colonial, can have been given quite such extensive coverage by the Christian Remembrancer; Bishop Lipscomb languished in obscurity by comparison.

³⁸ CR, New Series, II, 221-222 (September 1841); Colonial Church Chronicle, IV, 3-11 (July 1850); DNB (where Lipscomb, by contrast, does not receive an entry). The series of articles on Coleridge by Warren Alleyne in The Bajan (August 1974 to February 1975) give a popular account commemorating the sesquicentenary of the

diocese. Schon S. Goodridge, Facing the Challenge of Emancipation, is sometimes useful, sometimes misleading - see the review by the present writer, JBMHS, XXXVI, 400-403 (1982).

³⁹ BDA X/10/2, pp. 69, 71; "The Lucas Manuscript Volumes in the Barbados Public Library", JBMHS, XXV, 38-40 (November 1957).

⁴⁰ BDA X/10/2 p. 67. The Treasury was understandably reluctant to spend money for such purposes without being made aware of the circumstances in each individual case - J. C. Herries to R. W. Horton, Treasury Chambers, 28 April 1826, copied by Coleridge, BDA X/10/2 p. A17.

⁴¹ BDA X/10/2, p. 193; Coleridge, Charge (1838), p. 52; Studholme Hodgson, Truths from the West Indies, quoted in the course of an extremely hostile review by CR, XXI, 74-81 (February 1839), which does not venture to deny what is stated.

⁴² "Thou dwellest not in Temples made with hands ... yet didst Thou command Solomon to build Thee an house" - from Coleridge's prayer at laying the first stone of St. Mary's, Barbados (CR, VII, 661-664, October 1825). Cf. Acts, vii, 46-50; Coleridge stands the biblical argument on its head. For Coleridge as church-builder, Goodridge, Facing the Challenge, pp. 15-25, 106, 110-112; Hill, Barbara, "The Coleridge Chapels of Ease", JBMHS, XXXVI, 16-27 (1979).

⁴³ Coleridge, Charge (1838), p. 128 - address at laying foundation stone, St. Stephen's Chapel, Barbados, 28 June 1836.

⁴⁴ See figures in Schomburgk, pp. 100-101. Goodridge, Facing the Challenge, p. 106, gives the same figures, but in currency rather than sterling. For teachers' salaries in Barbados, see Copy of a Report from C. J. Latrobe, where the figures are given in sterling; £25 would have been not unreasonable by 1838 standards; some teachers received considerably more, others were paid as little as £5.

For similar criticisms of Lipscomb, cf. Turner, Mary, "The Bishop of Jamaica and Slave Instruction", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXVI, no. 4 (October 1975), pp. 363-378.

⁴⁵ Thomas Parry's notes of letters to Archdeacon Davis of Antigua, and to Bishop Coleridge, 2 and 3 December 1841 respectively (unpaginated letter-book, 1839-42, marked "Official Letters", BCP 3). Parry originally hoped to get the archdeaconry of Surrey if Wilberforce got the bishopric, and seems to have been reluctant to accept the latter himself, as the reduction in the area of the diocese meant a diminution in the income of the see (notes of his letters to Bishop Coleridge, 7, 21 February, 16 March 1842, ibid.).

⁴⁶ Parry, Practical Exposition of ... Romans and Apostleship and Priesthood of Christ.

⁴⁷ There is in BCP 35 a copy of a duplicated typescript memoir of Thomas Parry, dated 1928, by C. H. Parry, a grandchild who had not known the bishop personally, but who drew on the reminiscences of those who had, and on some autobiographical notes, which, however, ceased in 1830. There is a brief entry in the DNB, which includes a note on H. H. Parry. Chester's circumlocutions, p. 104, may be a tactful way of saying he thought the elder Parry (who was still alive when the book was published) was so mild-mannered as to be quite ineffectual.

⁴⁸ Parry, Charge (1852), p. 36.

⁴⁹ Mather and Blagg, p. 65.

⁵⁰ Mather and Blagg, pp. 41-197 *passim*; Parry, Charge (1852), pp. 18, 32, and Charge (1861), pp. 10, 11-12; (Parry and Caswall), A Charge by the Lord Bishop of Barbados, and a Sermon ... by the Rev. Prebendary Caswall.

⁵¹ Mather and Blagg, p. 86. C. H. Parry's memoir states however that the bishop's health did not give way until 1864.

⁵² C. H. Parry (as above); Times (London), 9 May 1868; DNB.

⁵³ Thomas Parry, "Journal & Letters Official 1860" (BCP 34), p. 18 (emphasis original); *ibid.*, p. 1, 32.

⁵⁴ Chester, p. 119; Davis, Cross and Crown, pp. 28-9, 124-5; Mission Field, X, 207-210 (November 1865).

⁵⁵ Coleridge, Charges (1835), pp. 30-31 (from an address to ordination candidates, 1828); Parry, Charge (1861), p. 11.

⁵⁶ BDA X/10/2, p. 195; documents relating to Harte's case, The Barbadian, 24 July 1827 and CR, IX, 766-781 (December 1827); Parry, Charge (1852), p. 13n.

⁵⁷ BDA X/10/2, pp. 211 and 41.

⁵⁸ Coleridge, Charges (1835), pp. 42-7, 111. Cf. I Pet., ii, 13; Prov., xxiv, 21 (here misquoted under the influence of I Pet., ii, 17).

⁵⁹ BDA X/10/2, p. 58; CR, VII, 794-6 (December 1825).

⁶⁰ Coleridge, Charge (1838), pp. 31-2. He goes on immediately to state his fear of absenteeism among the planters, "the continued departure of so much that is great and good amongst us", and his "rising apprehension that too small a number will remain to uphold the character of the magistracy, to maintain religion,

to exhibit the dignity and loveliness of Christian virtue ...", which rather implies he thought Christian virtue a monopoly of the planters.

⁶¹ The Barbadian, 18 August 1838, "Address of Archdeacon Parry On laying the Corner Stone of the 'Chapel of the Holy Innocents'."

⁶² Parry, Charge (1861), p. 9.

⁶³ BDA X/10/2, pp. 39, 47.

⁶⁴ Copy of a Report from C. J. Latrobe, pp. 43, 97.

⁶⁵ Parry, Charge (1852), p. 20; Mather and Blagg, p. 95; Barbados People, 18 May 1876, letter signed "Agricola". Rawle appears to have been a good and holy man sincerely dedicated to the welfare of black West Indians, but even he was capable of a cheap and nasty joke when, as bishop of Trinidad, he consecrated a church built on the Pitch Lake under the name of St. Augustine's "from a supposition that the African Father might have had a touch of the tar-brush" - Mather and Blagg, p. 343.

⁶⁶ Coleridge, Charges (1835), p. 96 (primary charge).

⁶⁷ Documents cited above, note 56.

⁶⁸ Davis, Cross and Crown, p. 71.

⁶⁹ Blackburne, Kenneth, Lasting Legacy, pp. 85-6. "European" here simply means "white", without reference to place of birth.

⁷⁰ "Reflections from St. George's", The Barbadian Churchman, Vol. I, No. 1 (Easter 1983), pp. 16-17. The Piles are a prominent upper-class family. St. George's long had a reputation for "white domination" of the parish church, and the present rector is the first black priest to hold the post! Nation (Barbados), 16 April 1981.

⁷¹ Sturge and Harvey, p. 144. "Rector" should be "Curate" - this was Harte.

⁷² JBMHS, XXXIII, 149-150 (1970), summarising Times (Barbados), 25 June 1870. As early as 1836 St. Paul's Chapel in Bridgetown was an exception - Thome and Kimball, Emancipation in the West Indies, p. 71.

^{72a} "The sole exceptions are Boscobelle Chapel ... and the Chapel of the Codrington Estates ..." - Chester, p. 108n.

⁷³ BDA X/10/2, pp. 47, 49.

⁷⁴ Chester, pp. 109, 115; Davis, Cross and Crown, pp. 54-74. In an instance cited by Davis, in 1870 a man was fined for occupying a pew rented by his brother, even though the brother had given permission. Davis shows that, at least in the period 1870-85, pew-rents were of only limited financial importance to the parochial vestries, and argues that they were retained mainly as "an entrenched social device for the perpetuation of the status quo." The system ceased to be legally binding in 1959, but had by then fallen into disuse, though it was incorporated into the Anglican Church Act, 1911. On pew-rents in England, see Chadwick, Victorian Church, I (3rd ed., 1971), 329-31, 520-22, II, (2nd ed., 1972), 215.

⁷⁵ Clarke, Growing up stupid, p. 156 (emphasis original).

⁷⁶ Coleridge, Charges (1835), p. 41n.; (Parry), Codrington College, p. 14.

⁷⁷ 1831 S.P.C.K. report, cited by Goodridge, Facing the Challenge, p. 44.

⁷⁸ Sturge and Harvey, p. 154; account of the Pinder Scholarships in Mission Field, XIII, 73-4 (March 1868); The Barbadian, 1 July 1857, quoted JBMHS, XXV, 32 (November 1957); Thomas Parry's notes of letter to Rev. S. O. Crosby of Tobago, 18 April 1861 (Letterbook 1860-62, p. 46, BCP 34); Chester, p. 116. The first case known to me of a non-white who was ordained for service in the diocese of Barbados is that of the Rev. Eliot Sandford Thorne (deacon 1858, priest 1859), whose appointment as rector of St. Joseph, Barbados, in 1884 caused some controversy! Crockford's, 1890-1907; Caldecott, p. 193; BDH, p. 49; Davis, Cross and Crown, pp. 150-52.

⁷⁹ Chester, p. 116. But compare Parry's comments on a coloured curate in Tobago: "Only imaginable, objection agst. Mr. M. his color - an objection, we could not make or encourage, and we, in the colored people of Tobago is 'unnatural, unreasonable & suicidal' (quotation marks original) Difficult feeling here - Have here 2 colored Clergymen." (Letter to Crosby cited previous note).

⁸⁰ Notes of letter to bishop of Antigua, 22 November 1861, Letterbook 1860-62, p. 50 (BCP 34).

⁸¹ Crockford's, 1870, pp. 835 ffg., and 1888, p. xxiii, n.

⁸² For example, Mission Field, XVI, 42-3 (February 1871), "Missionary Progress among the Kafirs."

⁸³ Mission Field, III, 135-40, 156-7 (June, July 1858).

⁸⁴ Guardian, 26 April 1882, letter signed "Aquila", and 10 May 1882, letter

signed "E. S." For Bishop Beckles, see his obituaries, Times (London), 11 December 1902; Guardian, 17 December 1902.

⁸⁵ Times (Barbados), 29 June 1870, quoted JBMHS, XXXIII, 150 (May 1970), which quotes other examples of the paper's unfavourable view of the Church, pp. 137-50. Parry's comments quoted above, note 79, might be interpreted more favourably, or might mean no more than that he thought a coloured curate good enough for a coloured congregation.

⁸⁶ Chadwick, Victorian Church, II (2nd ed.), 243-51.

⁸⁷ (Parry), Codrington College, pp. 22-3, 25; baptismal certificates of R. F. Berkeley, S. O. Crosby, G. G. Dunn (BCP 12), W. T. Webb, Joseph Peschier (BCP 13, 16 respectively); testimonials of W. F. Checkley (BCP 13, 15).

At Codrington "The period of residence required for a College Certificate (was), in the case of Commoners, two years; of Exhibitioners, three years, or two years after the age of twenty" (Parry, Codrington College, p. 23). The standard varied! Rawle did not think highly of what he found in 1847 ("What a farce this splendid foundation has become!" - Mather and Blagg, p. 45), and whilst he did much for the college, within five years of his leaving (1864), it was claimed that it had "sunk almost into annihilation" (Chester, p. 113).

⁸⁸ Mainly in BCP 12-15, but a few more will be found in Boxes 16 and 17. Included in my calculations for the period 1842-73 are (a) all persons whose testimonials for orders, si quis, or actual letters of orders are preserved in BCP, (b) persons from outside the diocese nominated to serve cures within it, (c) those presenting letters testimonial from other dioceses on entering the diocese of Barbados. Not included are those ordained by letters dimissory, those mentioned only in nominations not indicating their falling into category (b), the occasional person mentioned only in undated documents.

⁸⁹ There is a printed list of the clergy at some point during Parry's episcopate in BCP 19 (book of "Memoranda, Cuttings, Extracts", compiled c. 1920-1930). No date later than 1862 is given, and the inclusion of Rawle as principal of Codrington gives 1864 as a terminus ad quem. Eighty-five names are given, including those of clergy such as Rawle who entered the diocese already ordained. Of the eighty-five, sixty-three are noted as having been ordained deacon or priest in or after 1842, and should therefore have been included in my calculations if the documents in BCP were a complete collection. I have in fact found evidence for fifty-nine of these sixty-three.

⁹⁰ The B.A. or M.A. of unspecified origin is bound to arouse suspicion. The prefaces to Crockford's frequently complain about clergymen assuming spurious degrees or genuine ones to which they were not entitled; e. g. 1885, p. xvi; 1894, p. xv. I also wonder about the Jena D.D.

- ⁹¹ Chadwick, as above, note 86; above, chapter two.
- ⁹² For example, Mather and Blagg, pp. 103-104; Chester's statement, p. 113, that "The Codrington College élèves are held in little repute as clergymen," and the anecdote following.
- ⁹³ Froude, Remains, I, 379.
- ⁹⁴ Parry's notes of letter to Lieutenant-Governor Musgrave of St. Vincent, 18 July 1863, "Letter Book commenced Aug 25 1862" (BCP 3), pp. 65, 68. He says he is still trying to get a curate from England for a position in St. Vincent, but the stipend is so small he has little hope of success. His notes of letter to Hon. C. D. Stewart, 3 December 1861 Letterbook 1860-62 (BCP 34), pp. 6-7, are partly on a similar theme.
- ⁹⁵ Mather and Blagg, pp. 78-9 (letter written by Rawle in 1848).
- ⁹⁶ Parry's notes of letters to Archbishop of Canterbury, 25 September 1863, and to Rev. - Laborde (St. Vincent), 3 August 1863, "Letter Book commenced Aug 25 1862" (BCP 3), pp. 57, 71.
- ⁹⁷ Parry's notes headed "Minutes of Proceedings" (BCP 34), under date 3 May 1861. The young man was "son of the late D^r. Caines of S. Kitts."
- ⁹⁸ Parry's notes of letter to Rev. J. G. Phillips (England), 26 August 1863, "Letter Book commenced Aug 25 1862" (BCP 3), p. 80.
- ⁹⁹ In fact he died within a few months - Mather and Blagg, pp. 72-4.
- ¹⁰⁰ Beaugié's ordination papers, BCP 15 (his testimonials for priest's orders are in BCP 12). MacCleod's and Leguyer's testimonials are in BCP 12, 13 respectively, and MacCleod's nomination, 10 June 1850, to an assistant curacy in Barbados is in BCP 15. Seeking clergy from England had already been shown to have its drawbacks - Schomburgk, p. 122.
- ¹⁰¹ Froude, Remains, I, 373-4. Parry thought the population of Barbados ideally required some ninety clergy - Charge (1852), pp. 15-17.
- ¹⁰² Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, p. 177; Parry, Immigrants in Trinidad, p. 5; A Form of Prayer to be used ... on Wednesday, August 1, 1838, title-page; Mather and Blagg, p. 104. In 1888 the Church in Barbados ignored the fiftieth anniversary - Davis, Cross and Crown, p. 159.
- ¹⁰³ Chester, pp. 116, 118.

104 A Lady Manager, A Servant of the Poor; or Some Account of the Life and Death of a Parochial Mission Woman (S.P.C.K., c. 1874), shows what the established Church could achieve among urban poor in England with dedicated lay help of their own class.

105 Documents relating to F. Fitzpatrick, C. T. Lawson, B. C. Norville as readers are in BCP 14, their ordination papers in BCP 13. The nominations (all BCP 14) as reader and/or catechist of Thomas Carter, J. W. Mathews (both 1857), S. F. Branch (1859) and William Gilkes (1857) mention salaries of £10, £20, £60, and £100 a year respectively.

106 Thomas Parry, printed "Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados on the Employment of Scripture Readers", November 1857 (copy in BCP 34) reprinted in A Statistical Account of the Diocese of Barbados at the close of the year 1865, Appendix, pp. i-iii. Parry had lived in the West Indies for twenty-two years when he wrote this.

107 Chester, p. 116. I have found one example of such a form (BCP 30, folder T). Filled in by G. A. Sandiford, scripture reader in Holy Innocents district, for the quarter ending 30 September 1873, it gives a more favourable picture!

A Hymn is first sung and a few of the prayers for evening Service are read. Then a chapter from one of the Gospels is read and commented on by the help of Barnes's Notes a couple more hymns are sung. Some of the collects at the end of Com service are Read. The Lords Prayer & the Grace

Sandiford held such a session ten times in the three months at each of two places in the district. At one the average attendance was fourteen, at the other thirty-six.

108 Lay Readers' Report 1909 (BCP 14), returns of T. C. Branch, Thos. Gardner, H. Hutson, G. W. B. Taylor, H. E. Olton (emphasis original). This "report" is a bundle of copies of a printed enquiry from Bishop Swaby, with information filled in by individual clergy on a form provided.

109 This was the opinion of "the intelligent and well-disposed classes of colored people", according to Thome and Kimball, Emancipation in the West Indies, p. 70.

110 Chester, p. 72.

111 Coleridge, Charge (1839), p. 18: "the privilege of membership is made dependent on piety and good morals." The Rules of the Saint Stephen's Church of

England Friendly Society, p. 7, stated that "Any violation of Christian morality, such as drunkenness, fornication &c., any impropriety of conduct, indecent exposure of the person, gaming, absence from Church on the Sabbath, any conviction before a Magistrate of a breach of the laws, shall be punished with fine, suspension, or expulsion, as shall be determined on at the Meeting." This would have meant that a member could lose all benefits following a dispute with his or her employer which led to a conviction under the Contract Act. The Rules of the Port of Spain Friendly Society had similarly comprehensive provisions, and also, "as it is an object of this Society to discountenance all disorderly and riotous conduct", forbade payment of death benefit "when there may have been a wake at the house where the deceased might lie" (p. 9), thus attacking a custom deeply rooted in the social life of the poor.

¹¹² Chester, p. 117 (where it is also stated "The whole sum offered to God in the offertory in Barbados is less than the sum spent on hiring seats, and so, more Romano, buying the Word and Sacraments"); Thomas Parry, printed circular to clergy of Barbados, 12 July 1847 (BCP 34).

¹¹³ "Let ill alone," might be the motto of the Church as well as of the state in Bimshire." (Chester, p. 104). For "Bimshire" as a facetious name for Barbados, see Chester, p. 86.

¹ The present writer's "John Mitchinson, 1833-1918, Bishop and Educator" (unpublished Prince Consort Prize Essay, University of Cambridge, 1982) covers the whole of the subject's life, and this chapter is closely based on it. The main sources are (a) the Mitchinson Papers, Pembroke College, Oxford (hereafter MPP), which include an autobiographical manuscript covering his life up to the time of his consecration and arrival in Barbados; (b) an unfinished (and inadequately paginated) typescript biography by Edward Davy Rendall (1858-1920), a former pupil of Mitchinson's. This is based on Mitchinson's manuscript, and on material communicated by Mitchinson verbally to Rendall, which is particularly useful for the later part of the bishop's life, including his experiences in Barbados. Rendall's typescript is preserved (along with some other material relating to Mitchinson) in the Archives of the King's School, Canterbury (hereafter KSA), and some extracts were published in the school magazine, The Cantuarian in 1946 and 1947. It is hereafter referred to simply as Rendall.

There are brief notices of Mitchinson in The Cantuarian, August 1975 (by R. W. Harris); Hoyos, Common Heritage, pp. 59-63; the same author's Builders of Barbados, pp. 76-82; and Percival, Very Superior Men, pp. 202-209.

More important is the discussion of Mitchinson's episcopate in Davis, Cross and Crown. For a review by the present writer, see JBMHS, XXXVII, 199-202 (1984). Professor Davis's work was not known to me when I was writing my Prince Consort Essay. He has been able to use material, such as Mitchinson's correspondence with Archbishop Tait and some Barbadian newspapers, which was not available to me. On the other hand, he has not used some material employed by me, such as that in MPP and KSA, and also Mitchinson's Assize Sermons, and this, combined with my knowledge of Mitchinson's life as a whole, leads me to take a rather more favourable view of the bishop than that given in Cross and Crown.

"The Toiler of the Sees" was the heading of Mitchinson's obituary in The Times (London), 26 September 1918.

² The Bishops' Appointment Act, 1872, is printed in Laws of Barbados (1875), II, 410-12. Caldecott, p. 144, is in error in describing it as an act for "re-establishing the Church", as the Church in Barbados remained established without interruption until disestablished by the coming into effect, 1 April 1969, of the Anglican Church Act, 1969 (supplement to Official Gazette, Barbados, 10 March 1969).

³ Tobago, 27 April 1874; Grenada, 9 February 1875; St. Vincent, 30 June 1875; St. Lucia, 26 November 1875 - dates as given by Mitchinson in his "Liber Vitae Meae", a series of autobiographical notes on the end-papers of a photograph album (MPP). See also Mitchinson, Charge (1879), pp. 30-31.

⁴ Rendall.

⁵ Undated printed letter from Mitchinson "to the faithful Sons and Daughters

of the Church of England in St. Vincent" (copy in KSA). Cf. James iii, 10.

⁶ BDH, pp. 43-44, 64.

⁷ Laws of Barbados for Session 1878-79, pp. 15-16; Jackson, W. W., printed pastoral letter dated Ealing, 1 May 1882 (copy in MPP); West Indian, 5 and 8 November 1878. For Bishop Jackson, see Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses; his survival until 1895 left the endowment fund in a satisfactory condition. Caldecott (p. 242 and figures and dates given pp. 262, 264) implies that Branch was the first coadjutor and ignores Mitchinson's role entirely.

⁸ Mitchinson, Charge (1874), p. 9; Saturday Review (Barbados), 24 June 1876 and subsequent issues; Agricultural Reporter, 11 April 1876; Mitchinson, Sermons, p. 212; Edward Moore, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, to Mitchinson, 9 November 1873 (MPP). For another example of hostility to ritualism, see editorial comments on the continued vacancy of the rectory of St. Philip, The Times (Barbados), 27 February 1875.

⁹ Agricultural Reporter, editorial, 2 May 1876; Governor Hennessy to Lord Carnarvon, 11 February 1876, quoted Clarke, Constitutional Crisis, p. 20; Report of the Commission on Poor Relief 1875-77, p. 7 & passim.

¹⁰ Mitchinson's speech given in Church Times, 9 August 1878; The Times (Barbados), 10 March 1875; Mitchinson, Charge (1874), pp. 39 and 10-11.

¹¹ Letter to the boys of the King's School, no. 2, p. 4, and no. 3, pp. 3-4. Copies of this series of seven letters (privately printed, Canterbury, 1873-4) are in KSA.

¹² Rendall.

¹³ Mitchinson, Charge (1874), p. 22. Compare Chester, Transatlantic Sketches, pp. 91-2; Wilcher, Sources of Discontent, p. 28. Mitchinson was later alleged to have referred to the Barbadian press as furnishing "garbage" - Agricultural Reporter, 15 February 1876.

¹⁴ Chester, p. 115. Compare JBMHS, XXXIII, 143 (May 1970), which cites comments on "The deterioration of Church Music, with special mention of the Cathedral choir", made by another English clergyman in The Times (Barbados), 23 April 1870.

¹⁵ Mitchinson, Charge (1874), pp. 11-12.

¹⁶ Barbados People, 18 May 1876, letter signed "Agricola". Emphasis original.

¹⁷ Musical Herald, 1 March 1891, reporting a speech by Mitchinson. He also composed music for them, though only his Hymn Tunes chiefly composed for use in St. Michael's Cathedral, Barbados (London and Derby, n.d.; preface dated Sibstone, 28 October 1884) can definitely be ascribed to this period. Insistence on a choir which led, rather than replaced, congregational singing, was a High Church trait - Rainbow, Choral Revival, esp. pp. 32-3.

¹⁸ Letter of "Agricola" cited above, note 16; Rendall.

¹⁹ West Indian, 4 February 1876. A slightly different report appeared in the issue of the same paper for 8 February.

²⁰ One member of the House of Assembly stated in a debate on 8 February that the bishop's speech had "been unhappily incorrectly reported by the West Indian" - The Times (Barbados), 16 February 1876. The West Indian, 15 February 1876, stated that Mitchinson had in fact said "bigotted ignorance" rather than "besotted ignorance", but admitted nothing else wrong with its report.

²¹ This is the version given by one of the audience, J. R. Phillips, member of the House of Assembly, in a debate in the House, 8 February 1876, reported The Times (Barbados), 19 February 1876. The House cheered the heavy-handed humour with which Phillips attacked the speech and turned it to his own uses. Compare Mitchinson's remarks with those of Trollope, West Indies and the Spanish Main (5th ed., 1862), p. 198; and Chester, p. 32.

²² West Indian, 8 February 1876; Clarke, Constitutional Crisis, p. 21, quoting the Barbados Globe.

²³ It is not clear from the contemporary press exactly what Mitchinson actually said. According to Rendall, "he proposed to ask the islands at all events to confederate in the matters of education."

²⁴ See Clarke, Constitutional Crisis; Hamilton, Barbados and the Confederation Question; and, on Governor Hennessy, Pope-Hennessy, Verandah.

On C. P. Clarke (1857-1926), a Liberal in politics who later became Attorney-General of Barbados and Sir Charles Pitcher Clarke, see Hoyos, Common Heritage, pp. 104-108. Clarke's account of the events of 1876 very much reflects the time in which it was written, but is unquestionably a distinguished work of scholarship.

²⁵ Speech of J. R. Phillips cited above, note 21; Agricultural Reporter, 15 February and 4, 7, 11 April 1876. In the issue of 4 April the Reporter placed "The Bishop" at the head of a "Return of Persons of Confederate Tendencies" along with "Sir Briggs" and others, some of whom were distinguished by such complimentary

epithets as "Quack doctor", "Briefless Barrister", and "Bankrupt Merchant". The issue of 11 April explained the omission of Mitchinson from later versions of the "Return" (issues for 7 and 11 April) by describing the bishop as "first and foremost" among "the more respectable class of Rats", saying that "True to the instincts of their parasitical nature ... the Confederate Rats are notorious for their shrewdness in deserting a sinking ship ..."

²⁶ Letter signed "Juvenis", The Times (Barbados), 11 March 1876.

²⁷ Speech of Reeves in House of Assembly, quoted Clarke, Constitutional Crisis, p. 129; DNB article, Sir William Conrad Reeves (1821-1902).

²⁸ Letter signed "Red Ant", The Times (Barbados), 9 February 1876.

²⁹ The Times (Barbados), 22 March 1876.

³⁰ West India Committee, quoted by Hamilton, Barbados and the Confederation Question, p. 72.

³¹ Hamilton, Barbados and the Confederation Question, p. 75.

³² Rendall. This must refer to Hennessy's first proclamation of 21 April, mentioned by Hamilton, Barbados and the Confederation Question, p. 73, as one of a group of measures which were "instantly effective" in bringing the disturbances to an end, and not to the proclamation of 26 April, which is printed, together with the correspondence between Mitchinson and Hennessy mentioned below, in the West Indian, 28 April 1876, which also includes a copy of the Pastoral Letter.

³³ Supplement to Saturday Review (Barbados), 29 April 1876.

³⁴ West Indian, 9 May 1876; Agricultural Reporter, 2 May 1876; Saturday Review (Barbados), Supplement, 29 April 1876 and issue for 6 May 1876.

³⁵ Pepper Punch, 26 January 1877.

³⁶ See for example The Times (Barbados), 29 September 1875 and 15 March 1876 (letter signed "One of the white snails of Barbados"). The letter of "Citizen", entitled "The Blind Beggar Brigade" (*ibid.*, 6 March 1875) makes the more general point that subscribers to the cathedral scheme should also be prepared to subscribe to an asylum for such unfortunates, which would cost a lot less.

³⁷ Church Times, 9 August 1878; "The Church and Education in a part of the West Indies", Mission Field, XXIII, 423-31 (August/September 1878). Mitchinson later stated that he had "given wide-spread umbrage" - see his Charge (1879), p. 48.

- ³⁸ West Indian, 6 September 1878.
- ³⁹ Mission Field, XVII, 168 (June 1872).
- ⁴⁰ Mitchinson, Charge (1874), p. 27.
- ⁴¹ Mitchinson, Charge (1879), pp. 48-50.
- ⁴² The Times (Barbados), 12 February 1876.
- ⁴³ Correspondence and editorial, People (Tobago), 30 January 1875, as reprinted The Times (Barbados), 13 February 1875.
- ⁴⁴ Laws of Barbados (1875), II, 348-9. A similar act had been passed in 1863 in favour of the Rev. G. T. Bowen (*ibid.*, II, 127) and another in 1856 in favour of the Rev. J. S. Mayers (*ibid.*, I, 494).
- ⁴⁵ The Times (Barbados), 8 December 1875, letter signed "A Citizen".
- ⁴⁶ The Times (Barbados), 15 January 1876. The eleven Barbadian rectories carried considerably more power, income and prestige than other clerical positions in the diocese. By 1878 Mitchinson had been able to make seven nominations to these rectories, and in fact three of them went to "clergymen who had done long and faithful service in the Windward Islands" - Mitchinson, Charge (1879), p. 32.
- ⁴⁷ He was buried there 5 July 1904 (Registration Department, Barbados, Vol. 147B, p. 233). For some additional information on Durant, see Phillips, Glenn O., "Judge D. A. Straker's 1895 Visit to Barbados", JBMHS, XXXVI, 197-209 (1981); and Crockford's, 1881 and subsequent issues.
- ⁴⁸ Mission Field, XXIII, 423-31 (August/September 1878). Compare the comments of Chester and Thomas Parry cited above, chapter four, note 79.
- ⁴⁹ Dalton, Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Bacchante", I, 62. Mitchinson said of Bishop Holly of Haiti that his "friendship it was my privilege to form" at the 1878 Lambeth Conference - Mitchinson, Charge (1879), p. 15. My comments on Mitchinson and Elder (for whom see also DNE) are derived from Mitchinson's autobiography in MPP (above, note 1).
- ⁵⁰ Letter to the boys of the King's School, no. 2, p. 7; no. 6, pp. 9-10. BDH, pp. 105-106, records Mitchinson's support of the Rev. E. N. Thomas, Curate of St. Mary's, in his eventually successful attempt to retrieve for the use of the black and coloured children for whom they had originally been intended, some school buildings which had been diverted to the use of white children only.

- ⁵¹ Mission Field, XXIII, 423-31 (August/September 1878). This was the Rev. E. S. Thorne, the man later promoted by Bishop Bree to the Rectory of St. Joseph. Thorne was perhaps the author of some farewell verses to Mitchinson, dated May 1881, which are signed with his initials (Valedictory ... From certain Members of the Cathedral Congregation - printed copy in MPP).
- ⁵² Mission Field, XXIII, 423-31 (August/September 1878). The devil's advocate will also note Mitchinson's statement that "experience in my diocese has taught us to be mistrustful of intellectual gifts in the coloured race, for they do not seem generally to connote sterling worth and fitness for the Christian ministry."
- ⁵³ Ordination papers of Charles Bentley Phillips, BCP 16, esp. S. Bradshaw (possibly Samuel Bradshaw, from 1883 incumbent of St. Bartholomew's, Barbados - BDH, p. 116) to Mitchinson, 20 December 1878.
- ⁵⁴ Guardian, 20 April 1881, quoting an unspecified source.
- ⁵⁵ Hoyos, Grantley Adams, p. 25, quoting an editorial by Clennell Wickham, Barbados Herald, 25 July 1925.
- ⁵⁶ Mitchinson specifically refers to Barbados as such in a letter printed in the West Indian, 11 July 1876 (and reprinted Penny Paper, 14 July 1876).
- ⁵⁷ "The Lampadephoria of Civilization", "The Golden Mean", "Tidal Waves of Crime", in Mitchinson, Sermons, pp. 74-86, 87-100, 101-122 respectively.
- ⁵⁸ Letter to the boys of the King's School, no. 5, p. 5.
- ⁵⁹ For example, Jeremiah, xxii, 13; Luke, x, 7; I Timothy, vi, 9; James, v, 4.
- ⁶⁰ Cf. Luke, x, 7.
- ⁶¹ James, v, 4. Mitchinson's punctuation differs slightly from that of some texts of the Authorised Version.
- ⁶² Cf. Matthew, xxiii, 27.
- ⁶³ Printed at the beginning of the Report of Commission on Education. Copies of the Report which include the 99 pp. Appendix of evidence appear to be rare; there is one in BCP. The Report alone was printed in Minutes of ... Legislative Council, and ... House of Assembly, for Session 1874-1875 (Barbados, 1875), Appendix U, pp. 12-24, and it is also reproduced in The Bulletin: A periodical for teachers in Barbados (cyclostyled), II, nos. 2 and 3 (December 1954, July 1955).

Extracts are given in Gordon, Reports, pp. 97-106. See also Gordon, Century, and her historical introduction to Walters, E. H., Teacher Training Colleges in the West Indies.

64 Gordon, Reports, p. 4. H. H. Parry's ordination papers (including a baptismal certificate) are in BCP 12. For Austin (a cousin of W. P. Austin, bishop of Guiana), see Burslem and Manning, Old Colonial Family, pp. 40-41.

65 There are numerous correspondences between the Report and passages in Mitchinson's published works. Compare for example what the Report says about fees in primary schools with Mitchinson, Charge (1874), pp. 20-21. My information on "Mossoo" is derived from Mitchinson's autobiography (above, note 1).

66 Agricultural Reporter, 11 February 1876 and 6 November 1918; Clarke, Constitutional Crisis, p. 21. Compare editorials in The Times (Barbados), 5 January 1876, and Penny Paper, 27 October 1876.

67 Gordon, Reports, pp. 4, 19, 29-30; more favourably, Hoyos, Barbados, A History, p. 155. For the 1878 act ("An Act to establish a General Education Board and to provide for the improvement and extension of the educational system of the Colony"), see Laws of Barbados for Session 1877-'78, pp. 165-209. For expenditure on education, see Table 16.

68 See, for example, advertisement in The Times (Barbados), 5 January 1876.

69 Gordon, Century, pp. 125-6. The same quotation is given, but badly misprinted and distorted, in Gordon, Reports, pp. 29-30.

70 R. G. Livingstone to - Phillips, 14 January 1899 (MPP) implies that several Barbadians were thus sent to Pembroke. BDH, p. 47, mentions only one.

71 For details, see Fowler, J. T., Durham University, pp. 57-8. Mitchinson had been an examiner at Durham, 1860-61 and 1867-8 ("Liber Vitae Meae", MPP).

72 Gordon, apud Walters, Teacher Training College^s, p. 14. The 1878 Education Act did make some provision for training primary school teachers at the Codrington Mission House. The modern Erdiston Training College was founded in 1948 (Walters, op. cit., p. 126).

73 The 1878 act in fact established six exhibitions each of £25 p.a. for boys of humble means educated at the island's primary schools, to enable them to attend any first grade school, but sixty such exhibitions each of £5 p.a. to second grade schools.

74 Hoyos, Grantley Adams, pp. 10, 12-20.

- 75 Trollope, West Indies and the Spanish Main (5th ed., 1862), pp. 198-203; Hoyos, Common Heritage, pp. 74-78, 114-118.
- 76 I have been unable to trace this letter, but extracts from it are given in an editorial in The Times (Barbados), 20 March 1875.
- 77 Report of the Commission on Poor Relief, 1875-1877.
- 78 Compare Mitchinson's "Undue or misapplied benevolence has a fatal tendency to pauperize" (Sermons, p. 92).
- 79 Laws of Barbados for Session of 1880-'81, pp. 6-24, 25-47; Laws of Barbados for Session 1882-'83, pp. 105-119, 184-8. The Education Commission had wanted the Reformatory and Industrial School to be separate institutions, stressing that "Industrial Schools are intended for unfortunate, and not for criminal, children." The single establishment actually set up had very much the character of a juvenile prison.
- 80 Letter cited above, note 56.
- 81 West Indian, 23 August 1878. Mitchinson's suggestion that for the purposes of administering relief the island be divided into three districts rather than the very localised system of parish vestries bears a resemblance to the changes introduced by the Local Government Act, 1958 (Laws of Barbados 1958, Part III), which abolished the vestries.
- 82 The Times (Barbados), 24 March 1875, letter signed "Quashey." For the "one-sided contract", see the discussion of legislation relating to master and servant given above, chapter four, pp. 106-107 and chapter four, note 15. Compare also editorial, The Times (Barbados), 8 September 1875: "There are hundreds now compelled to pay taxes who could just as easily take command of the Channel Fleet."
- 83 Mitchinson so described himself at a Church Council meeting, 23 June 1875, reported The Times (Barbados), 4 August 1875.
- 84 Mitchinson, Charge (1879), pp. 31-32.
- 85 Mitchinson, Charge (1879), p. 35.
- 86 Rendall; Hoyos, Common Heritage, p. 68; BDH, p. 47.
- 87 The Rev. Evan Evans, master of Pembroke College, Oxford, claimed that the real value of the living was close to the nominal one of £1,075 p.a. - Evans to

Mitchinson, 30 September 1880 (MPP). Mitchinson's visit to a doctor in 1878 is mentioned in his autobiography (above, note 1).

⁸⁸ West Indian, 7 December 1877. This was part of Mitchinson's reply to an address "signed by almost all the clergy of the Island", presented to him 30 November 1877, and expressing their support in the face of "the misconstruction in certain quarters of many of your Lordship's proceedings."

⁸⁹ Thus Rendall, who here contradicts BDH, p. 48. Contemporary Barbadian newspapers were not available to me.

⁹⁰ BDH, p. 48.

⁹¹ Mitchinson, Charge (1879), p. 48.

⁹² Rendall.

¹ Neill, Christian Missions, p. 572.

² On Duport, see Titus, Missionary Under Pressure. Duport was actually born in St. Kitts, but had been trained at Codrington, and the Pongas Mission was originally organised from Barbados. The Barbadian bishops were Samuel Hinds, bishop of Norwich 1849-57, for whom see DNB and obituaries in The Times (London), 12 February 1872, and Guardian, 14 February 1872; Edward Hyndman Beckles, bishop of Sierra Leone 1860-69, for whom see obituaries in The Times (London), 11 December 1902, and Guardian, 17 December 1902; and William Walrond Jackson, bishop of Antigua 1860-95, for whom see above, pp. 66-7, 141-2 and note. Renn Dickson Hampden, bishop of Hereford 1848-68, was born in Barbados, but left the island at an early age (DNB).

³ Gay Lisle Griffith Mandeville, bishop of Barbados 1951-60, was a white Barbadian, the son of a plantation manager - see the obituary by Laurence Small, "First Native Bishop of Barbados Dies at 75", Advocate-News, 21 July 1969.

⁴ The Ven Wilfred Denniston Wood, appointed archdeacon of Southwark in 1982 - Advocate-News, 13 October 1982.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

Barbados Department of Archives.

Bishop's Court Papers, especially Boxes 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 30, 34, and 35. Box 1 contains copies of the printed reports of the Barbados Ecclesiastical Board, and Boxes 44 to 46 contain printed items relating to the diocese, some of which appear to be of considerable rarity.

Diary of Moravian Mission, Mor. 2/2/1a.

Recopied will-books, especially RB4/54, RB4/60, RB4/71, RB6/12, RB6/13, RB6/16, RB6/20, RB6/33, RB6/34, and RB6/38.

Original will of William Turner, 1800.

Parochial Registers, especially RL1/1, RL1/25, RL1/30, RL1/38, RL1/46, and RL1/49.

Xerox copy of Bishop Coleridge's notebook containing details of his life up to his consecration and of his first visitation of his diocese, X/10/2.

Barbados Blue Books.

Registration Department, Barbados.

Burial register, Volume 147B.

Archives of The King's School, Canterbury.

Papers relating to John Mitchinson, especially the unfinished typescript biography by E. D. Rendall.

Lambeth Palace Library.

Porteus notebooks: MSS 2098-2106.

Papers of the Christian Faith Society (i.e. the Society for Advancing the

Christian Faith in the British West India Islands and elsewhere within the Dioceses of Jamaica and of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, and in the Mauritius, formerly the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands).

Fulham Papers, American Colonial Section.

Pembroke College, Oxford.

Mitchinson papers.

Collection of J. T. Gilmore.

MS circular, February 1825, on behalf of the Conversion Society, signed by the Society's secretary, the Rev. J. T. Barrett, D.D.

B. PRINTED SOURCES.

1. Laws and official publications.

Laws of Barbados, two vols., London, 1875.

Laws of Barbados for Session 1877-'78, Barbados, 1878.

Laws of Barbados for Session 1878-'79, Barbados, 1879.

Laws of Barbados for Session of 1880 '81, Barbados, 1881.

Laws of Barbados for Session 1882-'83, Barbados, 1883.

Laws of Barbados for Session 1891-'92 (Part 2), Barbados, 1892.

Laws of Barbados Session 1932-1933 Vol. VIII, Part IV, comp. E. C. Dear, Barbados, n.d.

Laws of Barbados, Vol. IX, Barbados, n.d. (c. 1937).

Laws of Barbados 1958, Part III: Acts 55-57, Barbados, n.d.

Report from a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, appointed to inquire into the origin, causes, and progress, of the late Insurrection, Barbados, n.d. (1818).

Accounts of Slave Compensation Claims. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16 March 1838.

Copy of a Report from C. J. Latrobe, Esq. to Lord Glenelg, on Negro Education in the Windward and Leeward Islands. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 21 June 1838.

Barbados Census, 1844 (Barbados House of Assembly Minutes, 1844-45, p. 122; xerox extract, BDA Pam. C. 379).

A Census of the Population of the Island of Barbados, taken on the night of 25h of June 1851 (Insert in House of Assembly Minutes 1851-2, Barbados, n.d.).

Haynes, Robert, comp., General Abstract of the Returns of the Population of the Island of Barbados according to the Census taken on the 7th of April 1861, Barbados, n.d. (Copy at BDA Plan F4/1)

Rawson, R. W. (Governor of Barbados), Report upon the Population of Barbados 1851-71, Barbados, 1872.

Report of Commission on Education, Barbados, 1875.

Minutes of Proceedings of the Honourable Board of Legislative Council and Honourable House of Assembly, for Session 1874-1875, Barbados, 1875.

Report of the Commission on Poor Relief 1875-77, Barbados, 1878.

Stokes, E. Lyte, comp., Report on the Census of Barbados 1881, Barbados, 1881.

1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 7, Census Research Programme, University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica, 1976.

Report on Vital Statistics & Registrations for the Year 1980, Barbados, dated 31 December 1981.

2. Periodical publications.

a. England.

ASLIB, Index to Theses.

The Cantuarian (Magazine of The King's School, Canterbury).

Christian Remembrancer.

Church Times.

The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal.

Crockford's Clerical Directory.

Guardian.

The Mission Field, A Monthly Record of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at home and abroad.

Musical Herald.

The Times (London).

b. Barbados.

Advocate-News (later Barbados Advocate).

Agricultural Reporter.

The Barbadian.

The Barbadian Churchman.

Barbados People.

The Bulletin: A periodical for teachers in Barbados (cyclostyled).

Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society.

The Nation.

Official Gazette.

Penny Paper.

Pepper Punch or the Bridgetown Charivari.

Saturday Review (Barbados).

Sunday Advocate.

The Times (Barbados).

The West Indian.

3. Other printed sources.

(The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.)

Allen, Louise R., "Alleyne of Barbados", Part III, JBMHS, III, 223-234 (August 1936).

Babay, A True Story of a good Negro Woman (with) A True Account of a Pious Negro Bath, n.d. (late 1790s).

Barbados, Prospectus for the Establishment of an Hospital. To be called "The Barbados General Hospital." n.p., n.d. (Barbados, 1840?)

The Barbados and Windward Islands Church Calendar, and Clergy List, for the Year of Our Lord, 1885, Barbados, 1884.

Bessil-Watson, Lisa, comp., Handbook of Churches in the Caribbean, Barbados, 1982.

Blackburne, Kenneth, Lasting Legacy! A Story of British Colonialism, 1976.

Carlyle, Thomas, Latter-Day Pamphlets, 1858.

Chester, G. J., Transatlantic Sketches in the West Indies, South America, Canada, and the United States, 1869.

Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes, 1789.

Clarke, Austin, Growing up stupid under the Union Jack, Havana, 1980.

Coke, Thomas, A History of the West Indies, containing the Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of each Island; with an account of the Missions instituted in those islands from the commencement of their civilization; but more especially of the Missions which have been established in that Archipelago by the Society late in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley, three vols., Liverpool and London,

1808-1811.

Coleridge, H. N., Six Months in the West Indies, 4th ed., 1841.

Coleridge, W. H., An Address delivered at the City of Caracas, on the 26th February, 1834, at the Consecration of a Chapel and Burial Ground, for the Interment of the Members of the English Church dying within that City, Winchester, n.d. (1834).

Coleridge, W. H., A Charge delivered in the Cathedral Church of Barbados, July XXV, MDCCCXXXVIII, 1838.

Coleridge, W. H., Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands; together with Prayers on certain public occasions, and addresses to candidates for Holy Orders, 1835.

Connell, Neville, ed. and trs., "Father Labat's Visit to Barbados in 1700", JBMHS, XXIV, 160-174 (August 1957).

Cumberland, Richard, The West Indian, (Cumberland's British Theatre, Vol. II), 1826.

Cundall, Frank, ed., Lady Nugent's Journal! Jamaica one hundred and thirty years ago! reprinted from a journal kept by Maria, Lady Nugent, from 1801 to 1815, issued for private circulation in 1839, 3rd ed., London, the West India Committee for the Institute of Jamaica, 1939.

Dalton, J. N., ed., The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Bacchante" 1879-1882. Compiled from the Private Journals, Letters, and Notebooks of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, with additions by John N. Dalton, two vols., 1886.

Davy, John, The West Indies, before and since Slave Emancipation! comprising the Windward and Leeward Islands Military Command. Founded on Notes and Observations collected during a Three Years' Residence, 1854.

Desultory Sketches and Tales of Barbados, 1840.

Dickson, William, Letters on Slavery, 1789.

Dickson, William, Mitigation of Slavery, in Two Parts, 1814.

Duncan, Peter, Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica; with occasional remarks on the state of society in that colony, 1849.

Duke, William, A Course of plain and familiar Lectures on the Articles of the

Christian Faith, and on the Two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 2nd ed., Gloucester, 1790.

Duke, William, A Course of plain and familiar Lectures on the Christian Covenant, on the Articles of the Christian Faith, and on the Two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 4th ed., London, 1803.

Ecclesiastical Calendar of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, for 1839, Barbados, 1839.

Edghill, J. Y., About Barbados, 1890.

Edwards, Bryan, The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies, 5th ed., five vols., 1819.

Eliot, Edward, Christianity and Slavery; in a course of lectures preached at the Cathedral and Parish Church of St. Michael, Barbados, 1833.

Eliot, Edward, On the Importance of giving Religious Instruction to the Slave Population of the West Indies, Barbados, 1827.

A Form of Prayer to be used in all Churches and Chapels of Ease throughout the (blank, in Bodleian copy "Island of Grenada & its Dependencies" supplied in MS) on Wednesday, August 1, 1838, being the day appointed by proclamation for public supplication and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy termination of slavery, Barbados, 1838.

Fleetwood, W., A Sermon Preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1711.

Froude, R. H., Remains of the Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A., four vols., London and Derby, 1838-39.

Gibson, Edmund, Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London, 1729.

Godwyn, Morgan, The Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church; or A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations, 1680.

Gomez, D. W. (bishop of Barbados), "As seen through West Indian eyes", in Today's Church and Today's World (preparatory articles, Lambeth Conference, 1978), pp. 40-44.

Handler, Jerome S., ed. and trs., "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados in 1654", JBMHS, XXXII, 56-76 (May 1967).

Harte, W. M., Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew! among which are introduced eleven lectures on the early parts of the Bible, and on the Ten Commandments! as necessary for the elucidation of the Parable contained in the twentieth chapter of that Gospel, two vols., 1824.

Harte, W. M., Practical Sermons, 1839.

Harte, W. M., Slavery not inconsistent with Christianity, Barbados, 1824.

Hardy, J. Stockdale, The Character of the late Very Reverend Robert Boucher Nickolls, LL.B., Dean of Middleham, &c. &c., 1817.

Hinds, Samuel, The Catechist's Manual and Family Lecturer! Being an Arrangement of St. Mark's Gospel, for purposes of Missionary and Domestic Instruction, Oxford and London, 1829.

Hinton, J. H., Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica, 1847.

Hodgson, Robert, The Life of the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D.D., Late Bishop of London, 1811.

Holder, H. E., Discourses on various subjects, delivered in the island of Barbados, four vols., 1791-92.

Holder, H. E., The Doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity briefly asserted and vindicated, 1791.

Holder, H. E., Fragments of a Poem, intended to have been written in consequence of reading Major Marjoribanks's Slavery, Bath, 1792.

Holder, H. E., A Short Essay on the Subject of Negro Slavery, with a Particular reference to the Island of Barbados, 1788.

Hughes, Griffith, The Natural History of Barbados, 1750.

Lady Manager, A, A Servant of the Poor; or Some Account of the Life and Death of a Parochial Mission Woman, SPCK, n.d. (c. 1874).

Ligon, Richard, A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes, 2nd ed., 1673.

Long, Edward, The History of Jamaica, Or, General Survey of the Ancient and Modern State of that Island! with Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government, three vols., 1774.

Marryat, Frederick, Peter Simple, Gollancz Classics ed., 1969.

Mather, G., and Blagg, C. J., Bishop Rawle: A Memoir, 1890.

"Meliora", Letters on the Labouring Population of Barbadoes, 1858.

Mitchinson, John, Charge delivered in St. Michael's Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados, by John, Lord Bishop of Barbados, at his Visitation of that Island on March 5, 1874, being the first year after his consecration, Oxford and London, 1874.

Mitchinson, John, Charge delivered in St. Michael's Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados, by the Right Rev. John Mitchinson ... At his Second Visitation of his Diocese, on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, 1878, Being the Sixth Year of his Consecration, Oxford and London, 1879.

Mitchinson, John, Hymn Tunes chiefly composed for use in St. Michael's Cathedral, Barbados, London and Derby, n.d. (1884?)

Mitchinson, John, Letter to the boys of the King's School (privately printed, Canterbury, 1873-74).

Mitchinson, John, Sermons Preached on special occasions, Oxford, 1879.

Mohr, Eugene V., The Other Caribbean: Concerns of West Indian Writing, Santurce, Puerto Rico, 1979.

Nickolls, R. B., A Letter to the Treasurer of the Society instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1787.

Parry, Thomas, The Apostleship and Priesthood of Christ: being a Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews: in a Series of Lectures, 1834.

Parry, Thomas, A Charge, delivered in the Cathedral Church of Barbados, August 24, 1843; at the Primary Visitation of Thomas, Lord Bishop of Barbados, 1843.

Parry, Thomas, A Charge, delivered in the Cathedral and Parish Church of Saint Michael, Barbados; September 23, 1852, Barbados, 1852.

Parry, Thomas, A Charge delivered in the Cathedral and Parish Church of St. Michael, Barbados, May 16, 1861, 1861.

Parry, Thomas, A General View of the present state of the Diocese of Barbados, in a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Barbados, to the Society for the Propagation of

the Gospel, 1854 (SPG "Church in the Colonies" series, no. XXIX).

Parry, Thomas, A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans! in a Series of Lectures, 1832.

Parry, Thomas, Immigrants in Trinidad. Appeal to the Clergy and other Members of the Church of England, connected with Trinidad, on behalf of the Heathen Immigrants in that Island, Barbados, 1862.

Parry, Thomas, Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, or Christian Brotherhood! being a Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon, applicable to the present crisis! in a discourse Preached in Saint John's Church, Antigua, on Sunday, December 29, 1833, Antigua, 1834.

(Parry, Thomas), Codrington College in the Island of Barbados, 1847. (Parry's name does not appear on the title-page, but his is the signature to the dedication).

Parry, Thomas, and Caswall, H. J., A Charge by the Lord Bishop of Barbados, and a Sermon Preached in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by the Rev. Prebendary Caswall, on the occasion of the ordination of two new missionaries for the Pongas country, in Western Africa, 1860.

Pinckard, George, Notes on the West Indies! written during the expedition under the command of the late General Sir Ralph Abercromby! including observations on the island of Barbadoes, and the settlements captured by the British troops, upon the coast of Guiana! likewise remarks relating to the creoles and slaves of the western colonies, and the Indians of South America! with occasional hints, regarding the Seasoning, or Yellow Fever of hot climates, three vols., 1806.

Pinder, J. H., Advice to Servants. Five Family Lectures delivered to Domestic Slaves in the Island of Barbadoes, in the year MDCCCXXII, 1824.

Port of Spain Friendly Society, Rules of the Port of Spain Friendly Society, in the Island of Trinidad, Established 1st January 1834, Bristol, 1838.

Porteus, Beilby, Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew, two vols., 11th ed., 1810.

Porteus, Beilby, Letter to the Clergy of the West-India Islands, 1788.

Porteus, Beilby, A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations, in the British West-India Islands, 1808.

Porteus, Beilby, A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts! at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday February 21, 1783, 1783.

Porteus, Beilby, Sermons on Several Subjects, Vol. I (3rd ed.), 1783; Vol. II (15th ed.), 1817.

Porteus, Beilby, Tracts on Various Subjects, 1807.

(Poyer, John), A letter addressed to His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis Lord Seaforth by a Barbadian, Barbados, 1801; reprinted JBMHS, VIII, 150-165 (August 1941).

Poyer, John, The History of Barbados, from the first discovery of the island, in the year 1605, till the accession of Lord Seaforth, 1801, 1808.

Ramsay, James, An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, 1784.

Saint Stephen's Church of England Friendly Society, Rules of the Saint Stephen's Church of England Friendly Society, Instituted October 1st 1862, Barbados, n.d.

Schomburgk, R. H., The History of Barbados; comprising a geographical and statistical description of the island; a sketch of the historical events since the settlement; and an account of its geology and natural productions, 1848.

Sewell, W. G., The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies, 2nd ed., 1862.

Shrewsbury, J. V. B., Memorials of the Rev. William J. Shrewsbury, 2nd ed., n.d. (1868).

Sinckler, E. Goulburn, The Barbados Handbook, rev. ed., 1913.

Society for Advancing the Christian Faith ..., The Two Charters of the Society for Advancing the Christian Faith in the British West India Islands, and elsewhere, within the Dioceses of Jamaica and of Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, and in the Mauritius; to which is prefixed, a Short Account of the Charitable Fund, 1836.

Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, Address of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, 1825.

Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, Instructions for Missionaries to the West-India Islands, n.p., n.d.

Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro

Slaves in the British West India Islands, Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands, from July to December, MDCCCXXIII, 1824.

Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, Some Account of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands. Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1794, 1823.

(Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), Twelve Anniversary Sermons preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1845.

A Statistical Account of the Diocese of Barbados at the close of the year 1865, Durham, 1866.

Stokes, Anthony, A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies, in North America and the West Indies, at the time The Civil War broke out on the Continent of America, 1783.

Sturge, Joseph, and Harvey, Thomas, The West Indies in 1837; being the journal of a visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbados, and Jamaica; undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the negro population of those islands, 1838.

Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on the 15th May, 1823, on a motion for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, 1823.

Sutton Moxley, J. H., An Account of a West Indian Sanatorium and a Guide to Barbados, 1886.

Thome, J. A., and Kimball, J. H., Emancipation in the West Indies. A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837, New York, 1838; facsimile of cheap ed. by Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Trollope, Anthony, The West Indies and the Spanish Main, 5th ed., 1862.

Walduck, T., "T. Walduck's Letters from Barbados, 1710 (-1711)", JBMHS, XV, 27-51, 84-88, 137-149 (November 1947, February, May 1948).

Wilcher, F. H., The Sources of Discontent in the West Indies, with some suggested remedies, 1885.

Willyams, Cooper, An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in the year 1794, 1796.

Wilson, Thomas, Works, ed. Clement Cruttwell, 2nd ed., two vols., 1782.

C. PRINTED SECONDARY WORKS.

(The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.)

Allan, D. G. C., "Joshua Steele and the Royal Society of Arts", JBMHS, XXII, 84-104 (February 1955).

Anon., "The Moravian Mission in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXI, 73-78 (May 1965).

Augier, F. R.; Gordon, S. C.; Hall, D. G.; Reckord, M., The Making of the West Indies, Longman Caribbean (Trinidad and Jamaica), 1960.

Barrett, L. E., The Sun and the Drum! African Roots in Jamaican Folk Tradition, Kingston, Jamaica, 1976.

Bennett, J. Harry, Jr., Bondsmen and Bishops! Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838, Berkeley, Cal., 1958.

Black, Clinton V., The Story of Jamaica, 1965.

Bolton, S. Charles, Southern Anglicanism! The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina, Westport, Connecticut, and London, 1982.

Brathwaite, Edward, The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820, Oxford, 1971.

Brown, Ford K., Fathers of the Victorians! The Age of Wilberforce, Cambridge, 1961.

Burslem, D. P., and Manning, A. D., An Old Colonial Family, n.p., n.d. (Barbados, 1974).

Cadbury, Henry J., "Glimpses of Barbados Quakerism, 1676-9", JBMHS, XX, 67-70 (February 1953).

Cadbury, Henry J., "Quakers in Barbados in 1687", JBMHS, XXXIV, 53-57 (May 1971).

Caldercott, A., The Church in the West Indies, 1898.

- Campbell, P. F., "Aspects of Barbados Land Tenure, 1627-1663", JBMHS, XXXVII, 112-158 (1984).
- Campbell, P. F., The Church in Barbados in the Seventeenth Century, Barbados, 1982.
- Campbell, P. F., An Outline of Barbados History, Barbados, 1974.
- Cassidy, F. G., Jamaica Talk! Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica, 2nd ed., Institute of Jamaica, 1971.
- Catherall, G. A., William Knibb! Freedom Fighter, Chichester, 1972.
- Chadwick, W. O., The Victorian Church, Part I, 3rd ed., 1971; Part II, 2nd ed., 1972.
- Clarke, C. P., The Constitutional Crisis of 1876 in Barbados, Barbados, 1896.
- Collymore, F. A., Notes for a Glossary of Words and Phrases of Barbadian Dialect, 5th ed., Barbados, n.d.
- Crahan, M. E., and Knight, F. W., Africa and the Caribbean! The Legacies of a Link, Baltimore, Md., and London, 1979.
- Davis, Kortright, Cross and Crown in Barbados! Caribbean Political Religion in the late 19th Century, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, 1983.
- Devas, Raymund, O.P., Conception Island or The Troubled Story of the Catholic Church in Grenada, B. W. I., 1932.
- Dictionary of National Biography.
- Dunn, Richard S., Sugar and Slaves! The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713, Norton Library ed., New York, 1973.
- Ellis, J. B., The Diocese of Jamaica, 1913.
- Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth, Penguin ed., 1967.
- Findling, John E., "The Lowther-Gordon Controversy! Church and state in Barbados, 1711-1720", JBMHS, XXXIV, 131-144 (March 1973).
- Forde, Norma, "The Evolution of Marriage Law in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXV, 33-46 (March 1975).
- Foster, Joseph, Alumni Oxonienses! The Members of the University of Oxford,

1500-1714 (and 1715-1886), eight vols., Oxford, 1888, 1891-92.

Fowler, J. T., Durham University: Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges, 1904.

Gilmore, J. T., "Bishop Coleridge: A bibliography of his printed works", JBMHS, XXXVI, 50-65 (March 1979).

Gilmore, J. T., "Hurrell Froude and the West Indies: An episode in the history of the Oxford Movement", JBMHS, XXXVI, 144-157 (1980).

Gilmore, J. T., "Manners, Marriages and Morals in late eighteenth century Barbados: the case of the Rev. Richard Forster Clarke", JBMHS, XXXVI, 334-343 (1982).

Gilmore, J. T., "The Rev. William Harte and Attitudes to Slavery in Early Nineteenth Century Barbados", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXX, 461-474 (October 1979).

Gilmore, J. T., review of Goodridge, S. S., Facing the Challenge (q.v.), JBMHS, XXXVI, 400-403 (1982).

Gilmore, J. T., review of Davis, K., Cross and Crown (q.v.), JBMHS, XXXVII, 199-202 (1984).

Goodridge, S. S., Facing the Challenge of Emancipation: A Study of the Ministry of William Hart Coleridge, First Bishop of Barbados, 1824-1842, Barbados, 1981.

Gordon, S. C., A Century of West Indian Education: A Source Book, 1963.

Gordon, S. C., Reports and repercussions in West Indian education 1835-1933, Kingston, Jamaica, 1968.

Greaves, Ida, "Money and Currency in Barbados", JBMHS, XIX, 164-169, XX, 3-19, 53-66 (August, November 1952, February 1953).

Green, W. A., British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865, Oxford, 1976.

Hall, Douglas, "The Flight from the Estates Reconsidered: the British West Indies 1838-42", Journal of Caribbean History, X & XI, 7-24 (1978).

Hamid, Idris, "Theology and Caribbean Development", in Mitchell, D. I., With Eyes Wide Open (q.v.), pp. 120-133.

Hamilton, Bruce, Barbados and the Confederation Question, 1871-1885, 1956.

- Handler, Jerome S., "Addenda to A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834 - Part IV", JBMHS, XXXVII, 82-92 (1983).
- Handler, Jerome S., A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834, Carbondale, Illinois, 1971.
- Handler, Jerome S., The Unappropriated People! Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados, Baltimore, Md., and London, 1974.
- Handler, Jerome S., and Hough, Samuel J., "Addenda to A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834 - Part I", JBMHS, XXXVI, 172-177 (1980).
- Handler, Jerome S., and Lange, Frederick W., Plantation Slavery in Barbados! An Archaeological and Historical Investigation, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1978.
- Harlow, V. T., A History of Barbados 1625-1685, Oxford, 1926.
- Hill, Barbara, "The Coleridge Chapels of Ease", JBMHS, XXXVI, 16-27 (1979).
- Hoyos, F. A., Barbados! A History from the Amerindians to Independence, London and Basingstoke, 1978.
- Hoyos, F. A., Builders of Barbados, Basingstoke and London, 1972.
- Hoyos, F. A., Grantley Adams and the Social Revolution! The story of the movement that changed the pattern of West Indian society, 1974.
- Hoyos, F. A., Our Common Heritage, Barbados, 1953.
- Hughes, Ronald, "St. Elizabeth's Village, St. Joseph", JBMHS, XXXVI, 66-71 (March 1979).
- Hunte, Keith, "Church and Society in Barbados in the Eighteenth Century", in Association of Caribbean Historians, Social Groups and Institutions in the History of the Caribbean, (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, 1975) pp. 13-25.
- Hurwitz, Edith F., Politics and the Public Conscience! Slave Emancipation and the Abolitionist Movement in Britain, 1973.
- Laurence, K. O., Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th century, Caribbean Universities Press, 1971.
- Maggs Bros. Ltd., Catalogue No. 1034. Voyages and Travels, Vol. VII, Part 10, n.d.

Mathieson, W. L., British Slave Emancipation 1838-1849, 1932.

Mathieson, W. L., British Slavery and its Abolition 1823-1838, 1926.

Maynard, G. Oliver, A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province, n.p., n.d. (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1968).

Mitchell, D. I., ed., With Eyes Wide Open: A collection of papers by Caribbean scholars on Caribbean Christian concerns, CADEC (Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean), n.p., 1973.

Neill, Stephen, A History of Christian Missions, Penguin ed., 1964.

Newman, John, "The Enigma of Joshua Steele", JBMHS, XIX, 6-20 (November 1951).

Obelkevich, James, Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875, Oxford, 1976.

Owens, Joseph, S.J., Dread! The Rastafarians of Jamaica, London and Kingston, Jamaica, 1979 (first published Kingston, Jamaica, 1976).

Oxford English Dictionary.

Parry, J. H., and Sherlock, P. M., Short History of the West Indies, 3rd ed., 1971.

Pearce, Clifford, "The Quaker Property in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXV, 287-299 (1978).

Percival, A. C., Very Superior Men: some early public school head-masters and their achievements, 1973.

Phillips, Glenn O., "Judge D. A. Straker's 1895 Visit to Barbados", JBMHS, XXXVI, 197-209 (1981).

Raboteau, Albert J., Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South, New York, 1978.

Rainbow, B., The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872), 1970.

(Ramsay, G.), "Rev. Gilbert Ramsay's Mortification Trust", JBMHS, XVII, 187-189 (August 1950).

Reece, J. E., and Clark-Hunt, C. G., eds., Barbados Diocesan History, n.d. (c. 1927).

Rivière, W. Emanuel, "Labour Shortage in the British West Indies after

Emancipation", Journal of Caribbean History, IV, 1-30 (May 1972).

Robotham, Don, "The Notorious Riot": The Socio-Economic and Political Bases of Paul Bogle's Revolt, ISER Working Paper No. 28, University of the West Indies, Jamaica, 1981.

Schuler, Monica, "Myalism and the African Religious Tradition in Jamaica", in Crahan, M. E., and Knight, F. W., Africa and the Caribbean (q.v.), pp. 65-79.

Seymour, A. J., "Culture in Commonwealth Caribbean Development", in Mitchell, D. I., ed., With Eyes Wide Open (q.v.), pp. 100-110.

Seymour, M.C., ed., Mandeville's Travels, Oxford, 1967.

Sheppard, Jill, The "Redlegs" of Barbados: Their Origins and History, Millwood, New York, 1977.

Sheppard, Jill, review of Watson, Karl S., The Civilised Island (q.v.), JBMHS, XXXVI, 189-192 (1980).

Shilstone, E. M., "Sir Robert Schomburgk", JBMHS, XXVIII, 54-55 (February 1961).

Shilstone, E. M., Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados, n.d. (1955?)

Shilstone, E. M., "Some early records of the Friends in Barbados", JBMHS, XXXIV, 43-52 (May 1971).

Shorrocks, Francis, S.J., "History of the Catholic Church in Barbados during the 19th Century", JBMHS, XXV, 102-122 (May 1958).

Shyllon, F. O., James Ramsay: The Unknown Abolitionist, Edinburgh, 1977.

Simpson, G. E., Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti, 3rd ed., Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, 1980.

Titus, Noel, Missionary Under Pressure: the experiences of the Rev. John Duport in West Africa, Caribbean Group for Social and Religious Studies, Barbados, 1983.

Tree, Ronald, A History of Barbados, 1972.

Turner, Mary, "The Baptist War and Abolition", Jamaica Historical Review, XIII, 31-41 (1982).

Turner, Mary, "The Bishop of Jamaica and Slave Instruction", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXVI, 363-378 (October 1975).

Vaughan, H. A., "Poyer's Last Work", JBMHS, XXI, 155-159 (August 1954).

Venn, John, and Venn, J. A., comps., Alumni Cantabrigienses. A biographical list of all known students, graduates, and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, ten vols., Cambridge, 1922-1954.

Walters, E. H., Teacher Training Colleges in the West Indies, Oxford, 1960.

Watson, Karl S., The Civilised Island, Barbados! A Social History 1750-1816, Barbados, 1979.

Williamson, J. A., The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents, Oxford, 1926.

Wiseman, H. V., A Short History of the British West Indies, 1950.

Wright, Philip, Knibb 'the Notorious', Slaves' Missionary 1803-1845, 1973.

D. UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS.

Gilmore, J. T., "John Mitchinson, 1833-1918, Bishop and Educator", (unpublished Prince Consort Prize Essay, University of Cambridge, 1982).